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FBIS-SOV-94-008 CONTENTS *12 January 1994*

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

- Black Sea Fleet Criticism of Ukraine Navy Activities *[UNIAN]* 1
- Russia, Central Asian States To Save Aral Sea *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
  - Leaders Arrive in Nukus *[Dushanbe Radio]* 1
- CIS Peacekeepers Seen Achieving Main Task *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 11 Jan]* 1
- ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 12 Jan 2

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- PRAVDA Previews NATO Summit Agenda *[11 Jan]* 4
- Kozyrev Comments on Outcome of NATO Summit *[Moscow TV]* 4
  - Comments on Air Strikes *[Moscow TV]* 4
- Article Views East Europe-NATO Situation *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 5
- Readiness for Partnership Needs Reciprocating *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jan]* 5
- Bessmertnykh Discusses Aspects of Clinton Visit *[Moscow Radio]* 7
  - Itinerary Given *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
  - Clinton's Stop in Kiev Viewed *[INTERFAX]* 8
  - Parliament Members Comment *[INTERFAX]* 9
  - Preparations Noted *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
  - Visit Seen as Support for Yeltsin *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Jan]* 10
  - 'Problems' Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 11
  - 'No Surprises' Expected *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Jan]* 12
- Arbatov Urges U.S. To Halt Support for Gaydar-Style Reforms *[INTERFAX]* 13
- Joint-American Environment Conference Set for 1994 *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
- Prospects for Russian-U.S. Agro-Industrial Cooperation *[ITAR-TASS]* 13
- Russian, U.S. Space Cooperation Yields Results *[INTERFAX]* 14
- U.S. Grants Russia Subsidies in Power Industry *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 Jan]* 14
- Russia, U.S. Ease Visa-Issuing Procedures *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
- Yeltsin Meets With Belarus' Shushkevich; Treaty Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 15
  - Communique on Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* 15
- Defense Ministry Statement on Events in Latvia *[Moscow Radio]* 15
  - 'No Danger' of Incursion Into Latvia *[INTERFAX]* 15
  - Kostikov Warns Against Repeat of Incident *[INTERFAX]* 16
  - Skrunda Radar Withdrawal Viewed *[INTERFAX]* 16
  - Spokeswoman Comments Further *[Moscow Radio]* 16
  - Yeltsin Aide on Response *[SEGODNYA 12 Jan]* 17
  - Latvian Version of Arrest Accepted *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 17
  - Crisis With Latvia Defused *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Jan]* 18
- Trofimov Says Russia Maintains Oil Supplies to Ukraine *[INTERFAX]* 19
- Federation Provides Georgia Long-Term Credit *[ITAR-TASS]* 19
- Yeltsin Edict on Legal Information Within CIS *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 19
- Reinforcements Arrive in Serbian Krajina *[ITAR-TASS]* 20
- Zhirinovskiy Assails French Proposal on Bosnia Air Strikes *[Paris TV]* 20
  - Says Mitterrand 'Senile' *[SEGODNYA 12 Jan]* 20
  - Interviewed on International Issues *[Ankara TV]* 21
  - Interviewed on Italy *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 12 Jan]* 22
- Spokesmen Say Hekmatyar Flees Kabul *[Moscow International]* 23
- Relations With PRC Foreign Policy 'Priority' *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
- Sakhalin Court's 'Leniency' to Japanese Poachers Challenged *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 24
- Naval Maneuvers With Kuwait Had 'Anti-Iraqi Complexion' *[PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 25
- U.S. Seen Contemplating Pressure on IMF on Country's Behalf *[KURANTY 11 Jan]* 25
- IMF Calls For 'Tough Budget Restrictions' in Russia *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 12 Jan]* 25

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Shokhin Criticizes Government Restructuring Plan *[INTERFAX]* 27
Border Guard Top Body Acquires Ministry Status *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 27
Emergency Committee Redesignated as Ministry *[Radio Rossii]* 28
Gaydar Said Asked To Remain in Government *[Russian TV]* 28
Foreign Ministry Personnel, Envoys Reshuffled *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 28
Possible Vice Premier Appointments Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 29
First National Security Adviser Interviewed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 30
More on Counterintelligence Service Press Conference *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Jan]* .. 31
Reorganization Viewed *[PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 32
FCS' Stepashin Grants Interview *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 Jan]* 32
Government To Consider Meeting Mass Media Demands *[ITAR-TASS]* 34
Sobchak Says KGB Set Up Zhirinovskiy Party *[ITAR-TASS]* 34
Yeltsin Directive on Cadre Policy Council Task *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 34
Edict Eases Investment in Mineral Extraction *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Jan]* 34
Commentary Says Apparatus Needs Curbing *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 10 Jan]* 36
Constitutional Court Judge Announces Hunger Strike *[INTERFAX]* 37
IZVESTIYA Welcomes Arbitration Court Ruling *[11 Jan]* 37
Airline Unions Ask Yeltsin To Fire Chief *[SEGODNYA 11 Jan]* 38
Bonus to Prosecutor's Office Staffers Criticized *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 11 Jan]* 39
'Pamyat' Denied Registration by Justice Ministry *[KURANTY 11 Jan]* 39
Criminal Proceedings Against Lukyanov To Continue *[Radio Rossii]* 39

Economic Issues

Official Comments on Privatization Program *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 10 Jan]* 39
Results Show Economy 'Moving Backward' in 1993 *[PRAVDA 10 Jan]* 41
Economic Security Commission Session Reported *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 42
Labor Commission To Consider 'General Agreement' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 42

Military Issues

Interior Troops Might Come Under Yeltsin *[ITAR-TASS]* 42
Army Personnel Directorate To Be Cut *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 42
Navy's Position on Radioactive Waste Viewed *[INTERFAX]* 43
Research, Crew Changes Under Way at Mir Complex *[ITAR-TASS]* 43

Federal Assembly

Yeltsin Urges Deputies To Consolidate Civic Peace *[INTERFAX]* 43
Federation Council Receives Hoax Bomb Threat *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Federation Council Session Adopts Agenda *[INTERFAX]* 44
Federation Council Split on Regional Factions Issue *[ITAR-TASS]* 44
Roundup of Federal Assembly Proceedings *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 Jan]* 45
Yeltsin Aide Expects Confrontation With Parliament *[INTERFAX]* 46
Upper Chamber Speaker To Be Elected by Secret Ballot *[ITAR-TASS]* 46
Shumeyko Leads 4 Candidates for Upper Chamber Speaker *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
Shumeyko To Quit Government Post If Elected Speaker *[Moscow Radio]* 47
Federation Council Discussing Election of Speaker *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
Conflict Ensues Over Chairman of Duma Session 47
Lukava's 'Bias' Cited *[ITAR-TASS]* 47
Replacement of Lukava Demanded *[ITAR-TASS]* 48
Deputies Expect Controversy Over Speaker Election *[ITAR-TASS]* 48
Shakhray: Speaker Needs 2 Deputies *[Russian TV]* 49
Options for Duma Committee Assignments Eyed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 49
Deputies Comment on Beginning of State Duma *[INTERFAX]* 50
Duma Reaches Compromise on Faction Strength *[ITAR-TASS]* 51
Duma Sees 'Opening Skirmishes' Over Faction Rights *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 51

State Duma Takes Break, To Reconvene 13 Jan *[ITAR-TASS]* 52
Faction Leaders Assess First Day of State Duma *[INTERFAX]* 52
New Deputies Define Own Approaches to Duma Session *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 52
Communist Deputy Comments on Party's Attitudes *[Moscow TV]* 53
Paper Profiles Main Duma Faction Leaders *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 11 Jan]* 54
TV Provides Details of Parliamentary Deputies *[Russian TV]* 56
Independent Deputies Seek Faction Status in Duma *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 56
Pollsters Assess Federal Assembly Prospects *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 57

Regional Affairs

Moscow City Duma Opens First Session 10 Jan *[INTERFAX]* 57
New Train To Run Between Moscow, St. Petersburg *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 58
Tatarstan's Shaymiyev Favors Kazan-Moscow Agreement *[INTERFAX]* 58
Yeltsin Appoints New Representative in Tomsk Region *[ITAR-TASS]* 58
Kabardino-Balkar Constitution Changes Approved *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 58
Khabarovsk Kray 'Inner Soviet' Dissolved *[Radio Rossii]* 58
Khabarovsk Kray Communists Hold Plenum *[Khabarovsk Radio]* 59
Kuban Small Council To Seek Help From State Duma *[ITAR-TASS]* 59
Youngest Lawmaker Elected Speaker in Mari El *[ITAR-TASS]* 59

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Lauds Partnership for Peace Plan *[Kiev Radio]* 60
Clinton Scheduled for Short Stopover in Kiev *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
    No Accord Signings Expected During Stop *[UNIAN]* 60
Reasons for Clinton Refusal To Visit Kiev Assessed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 61
Party Leader Criticizes Clinton's 'Diktat' *[UNIAR]* 61
Validity of Kiev Disarmament Accord in Doubt 62
    Rukh Head: Kravchuk Cannot Sign Pact *[INTERFAX]* 62
    Official: Final Draft Not Yet Complete *[Kiev Radio]* 62
    Further Comments by Official *[INTERFAX]* 62
Government Still Plans To Sign Disarmament Pact 63
    Trilateral Accord Expected 14 Jan *[Moscow TV]* 63
    Official: Nuclear-Free Status Still Planned *[ITAR-TASS]* 63
Deputy Rukh Chairman Against Nuclear Disarming *[UNIAN]* 63
Party Leader Wants Retention of Nuclear Arms *[UNIAR]* 63
Nationalists: 'We Do Not Believe American Promises' *[UNIAR]* 64
Kravchuk Says Kiev Wants Close Ties With Baltics *[INTERFAX]* 64
Crimean Speaker: Only Russia Can Guarantee Stability *[INTERFAX]* 64

National Affairs

Violence in Crimean Election Campaign Increases *[Kiev Radio]* 64
Crimean Tatars To Back Bagrov's Bid for Presidency *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 65
Electoral Commission Registers Nationalist Parties *[ITAR-TASS]* 65
Security Chiefs on Cooperation, Fighting Terrorism *[Kiev TV]* 65
Kiev City Approves State Secrets Protection Statute *[Kiev Radio]* 66
National Currency Introduction Not Seen as Panacea *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Jan]* 66

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Ambassador to U.S. Views Ties, Clinton's Visit *[ZVYAZDA 6 Jan]* 67
Official Hopes Clinton's Visit Brings Investment Incentives *[INTERFAX]* 68
Shushkevich To Meet With Yeltsin in Moscow *[ZVYAZDA 11 Jan]* 68
    Members of Delegation Named *[ITAR-TASS]* 69
    Monetary Union To Be Discussed *[INTERFAX]* 69

Shushkevich on Signing CIS Security Agreement *[ZVYAZDA 5 Jan]* 69
Minsk, Moscow Reassure IMF Over Monetary Union *[ITAR-TASS]* 70
Passions 'Whipped Up' by Proposed Monetary Union *[IZVESTIYA 12 Jan]* 71
Ukrainian Ex-Premier: Bilateral Ties 'Very Weak' *[BELAPAN]* 71
Interior Troops Commander Views Job, Politics *[RESPUBLIKA 6 Jan]* 71
United Democratic Party Leader on Economic Priorities *[DOBRY VECHAR 5 Jan]* 73

Moldova

Snegur Issues Decree on Parliamentary Elections *[INTERFAX]* 74
Dniester Republic Asks for Russian Support *[ITAR-TASS]* 75

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Pakistan's Ali Refutes Report on Nuclear War Comment *[Islamabad Radio]* 76
Security Forces Detain Two 'Spies' in Kustanay *[Almaty Radio]* 76
TV Shows Air Defense Practice Firing of Missiles *[Moscow TV]* 76

Tajikistan

Missiles Fired at Russian Border Guard Post *[ITAR-TASS]* 76
Russian Ruble Not Expected To Solve Problems *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 76
Dushanbe Receives Cash for Ruble Exchange *[IZVESTIYA 11 Jan]* 77
Ruble Zone Implementation's First Stage Viewed *[ITAR-TASS]* 77

Uzbekistan

Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev Continues Visit 78
    Presidents Against Dual Citizenship *[INTERFAX]* 78
    Presidents Reach Economic Union Accord *[INTERFAX]* 78
Paper: Media Registration Ends Freedom of Speech *[SEGODNYA 11 Jan]* 79

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Yerevan Reports Battles in Nagorno-Karabakh *[Yerevan Radio]* 80
    Update Reports Clashes 7-10 Jan *[Yerevan Radio]* 80
    Massive Azeri Losses Alleged *[SNARK]* 80
Spokesman Says Azeris Reject Peaceful Solutions *[INTERFAX]* 80
Large Section of Gas Pipeline Blown Up *[Yerevan Radio]* 81
Little Hope of Natural Gas Deliveries Soon *[SNARK]* 81

Azerbaijan

Ministry Claims Armenians Fleeing Battlefield *[Baku TV]* 81
    Armenian Penetration Attempts Detailed *[ITAR-TASS]* 81
    Karabakh Front Offensive Launched *[ITAR-TASS]* 81
Envoy Denies Afghan Mercenaries in Karabakh *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 82
    Russians Said Forced Into Army *[INTERFAX]* 83
Aliyev Pardon of Biregadi Battalion Reported *[Baku TV]* 83
Karabakh Conflict May Internationalize *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Jan]* 83
Aliyev Issues Decree To Aid Foreign Trade *[Baku TV]* 83
    Bans Exports of 'Strategic Goods' *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
    Further Details on Decree *[TURAN]* 84
Aliyev Meets Russian President's Envoy *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
Agreements Signed With Latvian Delegation *[Baku TV]* 84
Subscriptions to Russian Newspaper in Jeopardy *[PRAVDA 11 Jan]* 85

Georgia

- Shevardnadze Reportedly To Meet Dudayev *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
- Ardzinba:'Vanquished Do Not Dictate Terms' *[KURANTY 11 Jan]* 85
- Minister on Army's Future, Relations With Russia *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 86
- Abkhazians Allow Repairs at Inguri Station *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* 86
- Paramilitary Group To Stockpile Weapons *[ITAR-TASS]* 86
- Ruble Zone Viewed as Nation's 'Real Rescue' *[INTERFAX]* 86
- Independent Press Terms Media Policy, 'Injustice' *[NOVAYA GAZETA Dec]* 87
- Money Changers Stop Dealing in Georgian Coupons *[SNARK]* 87

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

- Meri Explains Reasons for Government Reshuffle *[Tallinn Radio]* 88
- Meri Criticizes Laar; Speculation on Resignations *[Tallinn Radio]* 88
- President Ends 'Controversy' Over Cabinet Reshuffle *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 89
- Government Officials React to President's Speech *[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]* 89
- Laar Denies Declaring 'War' on President Meri *[Tallinn Radio]* 89
- Officials Comment on Accepting 'Partnership' *[BNS]* 90
- 'Sense of Danger' Seen Behind Moves Toward NATO *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 91
- Envoy: NATO Security Assurances Maximum Possible *[BNS]* 91
- Laar Says Government Ready for Talks With NATO *[Tallinn Radio]* 91
- Tallinn Replaces Russian Talks Delegation Leader *[Tallinn Radio]* 92
- Laar, Latvian Government Consult on Events in Riga *[INTERFAX]* 92
- Low-Educated Estonians Said To Favor Old Border *[IZVESTIYA 6 Jan]* 92
- Foreign Aid, Loan Agreement Figures Reported *[BNS]* 92

Latvia

- Talks With Russia Proceed After Incident *[Riga Radio]* 92
  - New Russian Proposal on Skrunda *[Riga Radio]* 93
  - Civilian Role Hinted at for Skrunda *[Russian TV]* 93
- More on Russian Army Depot, Arrest of Generals *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 93
  - Arrest Delays Troop Pullout Talks *[SEGODNYA 11 Jan]* 94
  - Ministers Attend Briefing *[Riga Radio]* 94
  - Mayorov, Birkavs Comment *[Moscow TV]* 95
  - Invasion Threat Viewed *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 12 Jan]* 95
  - Prosecutor: Reasons 'Not Very Clear' *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 12 Jan]* 96
- Delegation Leaves for Visit to Azerbaijan *[Riga Radio]* 96
- Denmark, Sweden To Help Implement Green Projects *[BNS]* 96

Lithuania

- More on Country's NATO Membership Application *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Jan]* 96
  - 'Immediate Preparation' Ordered *[BNS]* 97
  - Presidential Advisor Comments *[Vilnius Radio]* 97
  - Brazauskas Interviewed *[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]* 97
  - Paper Interviews Ambassador *[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]* 98
- Details on Citizens' Rights To Carry Firearms *[Vilnius Radio]* 98
- Further on Ministry's Former Arms Deals *[RESPUBLIKA 29 Dec]* 98
  - Former Minister Reacts *[BNS]* 99
- Ministry Reports Illegal Transit of Russians *[RESPUBLIKA 30 Dec]* 100
- Seimas Chairman's 17 Dec Speech to Polish Sejm *[TIESA 21 Dec]* 100
- 'Unsuitable' Sea Bed Deters Terminal With Latvia *[BNS]* 102
- Progress Made With Latvia on Maritime Border *[Vilnius Radio]* 102
- Deputy Views Attempts To Undermine LDDP Power *[TIESA 18 Dec]* 102

Black Sea Fleet Criticism of Ukraine Navy Activities

LD1101164594 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1336 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Sevastopol—On 11 January, the press center of the Black Sea Fleet made public a statement which says in particular: "For the past two months, the Ukrainian Navy Command has been making unilateral attempts to resubordinate all Black Sea Fleet naval engineering service units deployed in the fleet's distant garrisons. Following recent unlawful actions in respect of the Black Sea Fleet naval engineering service departments in Odessa and Nikolayev, another action has been staged, aimed at having the Izmail region's personnel swear allegiance to Ukraine."

The press center of the Black Sea Fleet affirms that the fleet's group of units deployed in Izmail has virtually found itself under economic blockade. To normalize the situation and prevent further negative developments, the Black Sea Fleet Command has called for wisdom on the part of the Ukrainian Navy Command and voiced the opinion that it is necessary to wait until the Black Sea Fleet issues are settled by the Russian and Ukrainian presidents in a civilized manner. The Black Sea Fleet leadership has sent relevant documents on the situation in Izmail to the Ukrainian and Russian defense ministries.

Russia, Central Asian States To Save Aral Sea

LD1101160794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1405 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Akimov and Amangeldy Akhmetalimov]

[Text] Nukus January 11 TASS—Russia and five CIS Central Asian states agreed on Tuesday to set up a joint fund to save the inland Aral Sea which is drying out and can result in a major ecological catastrophe.

At a meeting in the Uzbek city of Nukus situated in the delta of Amu Darya River flowing into the Aral Sea leaders of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and a Russian deputy premier adopted a number of agreements which envisage the creation of the fund, a programme of improving the ecological situation in the Aral Sea zone, as well as provisions for an interstate council on the problems of the sea. The executive committee of the council was created.

Russia was represented by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov. The meeting was also attended by UN envoy in Uzbekistan Hamid Malik.

Leaders Arrive in Nukus

LD1201114694 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state and chairman of the Supreme Council of Tajikistan who has arrived in Nukus, the Uzbek town, to take part in the work of the conference of the heads of Central Asian states and Russia on the problems of the Aral Sea, met with President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan.

Issues related to bilateral relations between Tajikistan and Kazakhstan have been discussed during the course of the meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship.

A meeting between Tajik head of state Rakhmanov and President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan took place in Nukus the same day [11 January]. Bilateral relations between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan were discussed during the course of the meeting.

CIS Peacekeepers Seen Achieving Main Task

PM1101145394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Aleksandr Antoshkin report: "Commonwealth 'Blue Helmets.' Getting First Collective Experience of Localizing Civil War in Tajikistan"]

[Text] The border forces which Russia has kept on the Tajik-Afghan border (the Moscow, Pyandzh, Khorog, and Ishkashim border detachments) have been clearly unable to cope with the "caravans of death" flooding across the Pyandzh River on the border. Gunmen have been bringing in from neighboring Afghanistan not only assault rifles and ammunition. Mines have been brought over by the hundreds, as have mortars, recoilless guns, and even probable "Stinger" surface-to-air systems. The Islamic gunmen soon moved from the tactics of "quiet infiltration" to blatant armed breaches of the border.

This situation could not be tolerated any longer. Russia's repeated proposals to strengthen the border details with military subunits from neighboring countries in the region have finally met with a response. Initially 500 men were allocated per country. Then, on 24 September 1993, the heads of the parties to the Collective Security Treaty signed an agreement on the creation of Collective Peacekeeping Forces [CPF] in Tajikistan. Colonel General Boris Pyankov was appointed commander of the CPF.

The agreement signed 24 September envisaged that the necessary military contingent would be set up by 15 October last year. This task was carried out. Subunits arrived in good time from Russia and the Republic of Uzbekistan, as did subunits allocated by the Republic of Tajikistan. Certain subunits from the Tajik Defense Ministry were made operationally subordinate to the CPF command. The question of the Kazakhstani battalion has been virtually resolved, although, because of certain differences of opinion in that country's parliament, participation by Kazakhstani servicemen in the CPF system has been somewhat delayed.

The CPF are quite an impressive military force. They comprise ground force units and various kinds of aircraft. They also have tanks and artillery, air defense, engineering, and communications systems. Their main task is, together with the Russian border guards and the subunits supporting them from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and the Tajik Government troops, to close off the border as tightly as possible and to ensure reliable protection and defense of it.

Everything necessary has been provided to this end. The CPF Headquarters is staffed with generals and officers from all the member states, many of whom have combat experience. Moreover, there are representatives in Tajikistan from each defense ministry. This makes it possible to rapidly solve all the problems that arise.

Unfortunately there are plenty of those problems. This was confirmed yet again by the joint session of the Commonwealth foreign and defense ministers during the recent Ashgabat summit. The session heard a report from Colonel General Boris Pyankov, commander of the CPF. He stressed yet again that the main problems continue to be inadequate force staffing and funding. Moreover, there is a need to redeploy certain CPF subunits to allow them to carry out their missions more effectively.

As of today a reinforced Uzbek battalion is located near the population center of Shaartuz, in direct proximity to the Tajik-Afghan border. It covers the most likely avenues for armed incursions by gunmen into the Russian Pyandzh Border Detachment's sphere of responsibility.

The Kazakhstani military contingent, originally sent to reinforce the Khorog Border Detachment (Gorno-Badakhshan), is protecting Khorog Airport, accompanying convoys, and taking part in patrols.

Some forces from Kyrgyzstan are being deployed in the town of Murgab (Gorno-Badakhshan), and others in the population center of Sary-Tash. A battalion is protecting the East Pamir Highway. One other battalion from Kyrgyzstan is operationally subordinate to the chief of the Ishkashim Border Detachment.

During the discussion of Boris Pyankov's report the Kazakhstani side expressed doubt about the expediency of transferring its forces to the Komsomolbad region deep within Tajikistan. The reasoning is simple—the peacekeeping forces are supposed to be used to protect the border. But the Komsomolbad region can hardly be considered quiet. As is clear from the map, it is from here that the hardline opposition plans to launch one of its strikes against Dushanbe. Moreover, Kazakhstan believes that the 500 men previously sent to reinforce the border detail do indeed represent national peacekeeping forces. That is why it would not be expedient to send yet another battalion to Tajikistan.

After a brief discussion of these and other problems the decision was made to take additional measures to stabilize the situation on the state border. I think that this will solve many of the problems mentioned in Boris Pyankov's report. After all, with the coming of spring—which is not far off in Tajikistan—the situation on the border could deteriorate sharply.

The situation in the republic remains complex. That is recognized by everyone. But the main thing—stopping a civil war—has been achieved. There is a chance for political and military reconciliation. The Commonwealth "Blue Helmets" are extending that chance and giving the Tajik people an opportunity to forget about the horrors of civil war and start organizing a peaceful life.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 12 Jan

LD1201074994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0630 GMT 12 Jan 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Russian newspapers highlight President Boris Yeltsin's remarks at the opening of the first session of the Federation Council—the upper house of the newly elected Russian parliament, greetings from Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to the deputies of the State Duma—the lower house of parliament, as well as U.S. President Bill Clinton's upcoming visit (beginning on Wednesday night) to Moscow.

TRUD on the Federation Council's first meeting: "The first meeting of the Federation Council did not at all resemble the vociferous and ungovernable gatherings of the Congress of People's deputies, or vice versa, the too 'manageable' meetings of the dissolved Supreme Soviet."

The newspaper describes the social status of the deputies to the Federation Council: 152 out of 171 deputies are white-collar workers. Among them, representatives from regional legislative and executive power bodies constitute a considerable proportion. Eight deputies are entrepreneurs, three are farmers. There is one military officer. Seven are jobless. There are no industrial workers among the deputies.

TRUD also points to high educational qualifications of the parliamentarians: there are ten professors, and 19 candidates of science (12—in the field of economics, 5—technology, and 2—philosophy)

In ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, Ivan Kivelidi, chairman of the Entrepreneurship Council to the Russian Government and general director of the Interagro Foreign Economic Association, reflects on whether the parliament will manage to undo the 'Gordian knot' of economic problems.

Emphasising the need to draw up a market-oriented liberal legislation, Kivelidi points out as follows: "There are plenty of entrepreneurs in the new parliament. In my view, people, who can find unconventional solutions inn an extreme situation marking the establishment of market relations, may well constitute a creative backbone in parliament".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA runs an account of the meetings of the Federal Assembly houses under the headline "Good Luck to You, the Parliament of Russia".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the U.S. President's upcoming visit to Moscow. The newspaper writes that the distinguishing feature of the forthcoming Moscow summit will be the participation of yet another leader in it, namely, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

A tri-partite agreement will be a "giant step for global security", the newspaper quotes Clinton as saying. "Accords that are expected to be reached during the two leaders' talks are certain to be of benefit to Russia, particularly considering the latest actions of the West which conceded to Moscow over the NATO enlargement issue, which has shown once again which aspect of U.S. foreign policy is a priority".

PRAVDA views the forthcoming summit in Moscow in a somewhat different way. "It is the first time that the leader of the only remaining superpower after the breakup of the Soviet Union calls on the president of Russia. In this respect, the forthcoming summit is a historic one.

"The lack of parity in relations with Washington is the main flaw of the Moscow summit. Without equality, one can hardly count on stable and long-term results".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on the same subject: "The first meeting between the Russian and American presidents in Moscow promises to be rather productive. The American President arrives in Moscow on Wednesday night with considerable achievements in his foreign policy activities which will, doubtless, be rather highly evaluated in Moscow".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on the arrest and release of two Russian generals in Latvia. The newspaper carries an item headlined "Russian Generals in Latvian Handcuffs", about the unlawful actions of Latvian authorities against the two Russian military officers. "Latvia and Russia found themselves on the verge of an armed conflict after two Russian generals were forcibly driven into the forest.

"The incident, it seems, has been settled. However, would the issue end at that? A local newspaper still continues to publish lists of officers and members of the families of Russian servicemen, with their residential addresses and places of work indicated..."

PRAVDA Previews NATO Summit Agenda

PM1101133194 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Vladimir Peresada report: "NATO: New Partners?"]

[Text] Brussels, 10 Jan—A two-day top-level session of the NATO Council opened at the North Atlantic alliance headquarters here today. The heads of state and government of the 16 member countries of the alliance are participating in its work.

Three questions are chiefly being discussed at this conference, the first to be organized since the equivalent meeting in Rome two years ago. The most important of these, as already reported in PRAVDA, concerns relations with countries located in the east of the continent. Having encountered insistent demands for NATO membership from a number of these countries, particularly Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, and at the same time not wishing to "complicate President Yeltsin's positions in the face of the Russian conservatives, who are opposed to NATO's zone of responsibility coming any closer to the borders of the former USSR," the North Atlantic alliance has drawn up a "new formula" for partnership with East European, Baltic, and CIS countries, including Russia. It is this formula, which bears the name of "Partnership for Peace," that the conference is to adopt officially.

Specifically it is a question of the following. It will be proposed that all the East European partners without exception sign bilateral cooperation agreements with NATO. It is not proposed to grant any security guarantees to these countries. Some conditions are being advanced, associated, for example, with a pledge not to use force and openness in the planning of military budgets, and at the same time it is proposed that the "new partners" will be able to hold joint maneuvers with NATO, to participate in peacekeeping operations, etc. In other words, it is planned to expand the scale of the present ties with these partners without applying to them Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which provides for alliance commitments in the sphere of collective defense.

It is already known from the information materials disseminated at the conference press center that the "NATO aspirants" are responding adversely to this formula. In particular, they accuse the North Atlantic alliance of "irresponsibly giving in under pressure from Russia."

Another item on the agenda is approval of the West European countries' independent defense role within the NATO framework. The United States is expected officially to give its consent to this. In which case a special command will be created, which will be able to provide the Western European Union (a defense organization embracing 11 West European countries—V.P.) with armed forces "separate from the alliance's military structures" and earmarked, in particular, for conducting "peacekeeping operations" outside NATO's zone of responsibility.

Finally, the situation in Bosnia will be examined, notably with regard to the plan for making air strikes for "the purpose of ending hostilities there"—as has already been discussed repeatedly before.

Kozyrev Comments on Outcome of NATO Summit

LD1101195394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev by correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Beletskiy] Andrey Vladimirovich, what is your comment on the results of the NATO conference in Brussels?

[Kozyrev] It took a step in the right direction; that is, the idea of Partnership for Peace has been approved, something which essentially is based also on our proposals. The effect is that now, instead of a quantitative membership expansion of NATO eastward, one should be occupied with the practical aspects of interaction, both between Russia and NATO, and between the Central European states and NATO, within the context, say, of joint maneuvers, practicing peacekeeping operations in areas of conflicts, programs of converting military production. This is practical work instead of membership.

Of course, there is a small difference of emphasis. NATO looks at things from its own viewpoint [NATO smotrit ot sebya]—NATO-centrism—and they say this will be a period of preparation for joining NATO. Perhaps that will be the case. Let us see at the end of this period, which will be a fairly long and eventful one. It is perfectly possible that Russia will also decide, in the end, to join NATO.

Another scenario is possible, that NATO will be modified and merged into some broader European structure.

Comments on Air Strikes

LD1101233194 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2200 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Report by announcer Aleksandr Panov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Commenting on the American idea of inflicting strikes on Serbia [as heard], which was put forward at the conference in Brussels, Andrey Kozyrev stated that President Clinton had admitted that there had been no consultations with Russia on this matter. Therefore, we are hoping for a conversation during the president's stay in Moscow, he said.

Article Views East Europe-NATO Situation

PM1101160794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Leonid Mlechin article: "Other People's Humiliation Is No Cause for Gloating"]

[Text] Expressions of gratification because East Europe has been refused admission to NATO must not be overtly cynical.

As a matter of fact, in what way is East Europe different from West Europe? Back in 1945 it ended up in the Soviet zone of influence, deprived of an opportunity for normal development, but an event which had fatal consequences for the East Europeans occurred even earlier, in August 1939. It was the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact with all its secret protocols, which divided this part of Europe between the Soviet Union and Germany.

This is why two Europes exist. As far as the West Europeans are concerned, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact is just a vague memory of the dark past. For the East Europeans, this division of the continent was a reality. East Europe can be defined as the group of countries which became the objects of trade between Moscow and Berlin in 1939.

A reduction to the role of historical object leaves deep scars, Polish writer Czeslaw Milosz remarked, and calls for caution toward the two large neighbors -Russia and Germany. Decades of pain and humiliation—this is what distinguishes the East European countries from those in West Europe.

All the arguments cited by Moscow, Washington, or Paris against East Europe's inclusion in NATO are sensible and rational: "It is not worth investing large sums of money to reequip and retrain the East European armies to NATO standards. The East Europeans themselves would find it more useful to aim for membership of the European Union and worry more about the economy than the army. And the main point is this: There is no need to antagonize the Russians, many of whom still consider NATO to be their enemy...." To put it briefly, a great power enjoys some advantages in geopolitics—people try not to insult it unnecessarily.

But the perfidious scar of Europe's prewar division has not disappeared off the face of the continent. Another question: Is it worth the Lithuanians or the Poles exploiting this tragic past and exciting anti-Russian feelings in the West now, when there are no grounds for it? It is, however, obvious that the inbred fear of a fresh division will govern the policy of the present and future generations of East Europeans.

Historical guilt is a metaphysical term which is rejected by many people. But it is, nonetheless, not worth while expressing enthusiasm because of NATO's decision and gloating over other people's humiliation.

Readiness for Partnership Needs Reciprocating

PM1201101194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy article: "Partnership for Peace"]

[Text] Speaking at the NATO session in Brussels, U.S. President Bill Clinton set out his "Partnership for Peace" program. Approved by the bloc's heads of state and government, it is now its official policy. But the program is not only of interest and importance to NATO. It speaks of the basis on which the NATO countries' new relations with those known in the West as the "newly independent states"—the countries of East Europe and the former Soviet republics—will be built. The "partnership" idea has already been discussed for six months, but had thus far lacked any "content"—but the specific proposed actions and avenues for cooperation are turning a slogan into a program of action and, in this instance, cooperation. The picture has now been clarified to a certain extent.

From the time it was announced as a slogan for future partnership between the NATO countries and their former enemies in East Europe and the USSR, the central question worrying the world public has been the possibility of quantitative growth and the expansion of the NATO alliance and its expansion as a military-political bloc. There have been stormy debates in the European and trans-Atlantic capitals on the pluses and minuses of such prospects. This problem has also been actively discussed in Russia.

We can assume that it was no secret that Washington did not immediately reveal the nature of its proposals. It cannot be ruled out that the U.S. leadership was launching a trial balloon, wanting to see the reaction both from its allies and from its future "partners" to its plans, to hear the political thunder and lightning about the program (which did indeed occur) beforehand and take account of them in President Clinton's official report, and only then to firmly state that membership of the NATO bloc is not the starting point for the plans to build partnership but the ultimate goal.

As U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin noted, participation in "Partnership for Peace" will not be a clear run [propusk] into NATO. It would be more correct to see it as a certain trial period, during which current NATO allies will have to be convinced of the new partners' reliability, and the latter will have to demonstrate the sincerity and practicality of their aspirations by their actions (the governments of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania have already stated their aspirations officially, and other East European states are also prepared to do so).

NATO members intend to organize concrete cooperation with each of the applicant states individually. Although the overall framework has already been generally defined. This will take the form of mutual consultations on military problems, the training of military cadres, the embracing of NATO approaches and standards in planning and organizing combat training measures for troops and staffs, and the holding of joint command-staff and field training exercises.

"Partnership for Peace" assumes that states seriously aiming to join the West will be given the status of so-called associate members. This has not been completely defined, but is seen as something higher than the status of member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. At the same time, it differs substantially from the position of a full NATO member—the bloc takes no responsibility for the collective defense of partners' territories, while nonetheless gaining the right for the NATO Joint Armed Forces to assimilate the associate members' infrastructures. Each state's contribution to the overall peacekeeping effort in situations such as the Yugoslav conflict will be taken into consideration. In other words, it is not a question of what NATO can do for the new partners, but of what the latter can do for the bloc.

It is clear from President Clinton's Brussels speech that, apart from purely military joint contacts, the partners will also have opportunities to organize cooperation in spheres such as peacekeeping activity, search and rescue operations, humanitarian aid operations, and environmental protection efforts. None of these areas is anything new; the first steps have already been taken in all of them—some successful, others not very. The alliance's headquarters obviously believes that these operations will be more effective and timely under NATO rather than UN auspices.

Despite the NATO (and, particularly, U.S.) leadership's reluctance to accept new members into the bloc in the immediate future, the states east of the former "iron curtain," the situation within them, and their political policy are at the center of attention of Brussels and Washington. As NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner admitted, "it is obvious that the United States cannot prosper amid chaos and conflict, and the United States needs the alliance as a most important tool for exercising American influence and leadership in Europe." Needless to say, an expansion of NATO would also mean an expansion of America's potential in this sphere. The principles on which these ambitions would be realized is another matter.

Washington currently admits that it is impossible to allow a few of even the best-prepared states into the bloc—it would very much smack of the formation of a some kind of new anti-Russian coalition (particularly given the regrettably tense relations between Russia and a number of its former allies). It would also hardly be sensible to let all comers join NATO at one fell swoop—the sharp growth in numbers without any careful qualitative preparation for such a step would essentially destroy the bloc and make it an unimportant organ similar to the CSCE. The gradual, drawn-out process proposed by Clinton at the NATO Brussels session makes it possible to avoid sharp confrontation—above all with Moscow—although it leaves many questions open.

One of the most obvious questions, whose dangers we have to face even now, is whether the NATO membership will become a kind of instrument of blackmail. There is a very great temptation (and not everyone is currently capable of resisting it) to use the power of "big brother"—the role which NATO plays—to attempt to pressure the Russian leadership. This may be simpler than organizing or, rather, reestablishing a normal working dialogue, but it is hardly any more effective. All the more so at a time when Russia is building a good and constructive relationship with most NATO countries on a bilateral basis and gradually at bloc level.

Following the official announcement of the "Partnership for Peace" program and its adoption by the NATO leadership, we can expect efforts to implement it not at a level common to all, but in certain areas. During President Clinton's current tour of the states of East Europe this will undoubtedly be discussed in Prague, Kiev, Minsk, and Moscow.

Bill Clinton arrives in the Russian capital 12 January. U.S. sources report that no new "historic initiatives" should be expected—the top-level talks will focus on perhaps more prosaic but nonetheless extremely important problems. These are U.S. support for the reform processes in Russia, and the steering of that support toward easing the social tension engendered in our country above all by the painfully difficult transformations in the economy. The Russian and American leaders will also examine how successfully the accords on U.S. assistance reached back in Vancouver are being implemented—whether they are working, where the obstructions are if there are problems, how to accelerate the transition from fine declarations to routine but productive action.

In Minsk, Kiev, and Prague the emphasis during talks will be different. And this is logical. The same Americans, in the words of General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and until recently commander in chief of the NATO Allied Armed Forces, clearly see a difference of approach to partnership with Russia and, for example, the Czech Republic, countries with differing potential, different possibilities, and dissimilar starting points. Furthermore, in the last two-three years some areas of cooperation have already been mapped out, and weak points along this path have also emerged. They need to be eliminated on a reciprocal basis. The main point is that Russia is ready for equal partnership for the sake of strengthening security in Europe and throughout the world. And it hopes to be shown the same attitude by our potential allies.

Bessmertnykh Discusses Aspects of Clinton Visit

LD1101190394 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1349 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Now we have an interview on the eve of an event. The first official visit by U.S. President Bill Clinton to Russia begins on 12 January. In this connection our commentator Lidiya Podolnaya interviewed Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who made the preparations for several summits and took part in them in various capacities, including that of USSR foreign minister. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich now heads two nongovernmental organizations, Russia's Foreign Policy Association and the World Council of Ex-Foreign Ministers. Let us hear the conversation.

[Begin recording] [Podolnaya] Sensations and some kind of breakthrough are always expected of such summit meetings. Are there any grounds for expecting something similar from the present meeting?

[Bessmertnykh] I don't think so—and that is the good thing about it. This summit meeting is one of those rare meetings which are not overloaded with bureaucratic agenda items. Officials tend to delight in talking about the 20-25 odd agreements which presidents are going to sign when, sometimes, these selfsame presidents have not even set eyes on them. This means that the presidents have an opportunity, after making each other's acquaintance in Vancouver and, I think, getting to like each other, to discuss what kind of Russia Washington wants to see in the near future ...

[Podolnaya, interrupting] As its partner?

[Bessmertnykh] As its partner, and what kind of America Moscow would like to see. In other words, the presidents are to discuss, for the first time perhaps, a strategically very important task: How these two great powers are to live together in a changing world. Naturally—and you are quite right—they must build this concept on the basis of the premise that they remain partners, and that they must be partners, but it will be very important, I think, for the presidents to strip off the declarative veneer of politics, something which was achieved, for instance, on Malta, when the presidents of our two countries frankly told each other that certain events in Europe, the reunification of Germany, the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact, the liberation of East Europe, and so on were all possible in present circumstances. They should say roughly the same things now about the future development of world forces and the place of the United States and Russia in this new set-up.

[Podolnaya] Security issues usually dominate talks of this kind. Of all the questions to be discussed by Clinton and Yeltsin, which are the ones which require a quick solution in spite of being the most complex and sensitive?

[Bessmertnykh] I think that this time security should be examined in a slightly different light. In order to study the problem of security the two presidents will have to sort out questions connected with the two states' own national security. Not everything is clear-cut here. There is still quite a lot of suspicion, notably among the U.S. political elite. These people talk with rather surprising frivolity about the revival of Russian imperialism and accuse Yeltsin's Russia of engaging in such imperialism. I witnessed this myself during a recent visit to the United States. This shows that there is no clear understanding of what Russia's vital interests are and what they are not. The way in which these vital interests are defended is another matter. Our president could well assure his American counterpart that this will be done within the framework of international law and existing principles governing the conduct of great powers, as permanent members of the Security Council. After that has been done, it will be easier to talk about what is to be done next with nuclear weapons.

It is absolutely vital to reach agreement on the desirability of a further reduction in the level of nuclear armaments. The question of how to complete work connected with nuclear armaments in the Ukraine is bound to come up, of course, but the main topic will, nevertheless, be the subject of European security, notably in the context of the fairly lively debate on the future of NATO. I think that in this area, too, both sides should tell each other fairly clearly what they expect of the North Atlantic organization, NATO, and what they expect of the future system of European security. Here Russia has its own interests and it would be no bad thing if the U.S. leadership was made to understand that these Russian interests must be respected. But these Russian interests certainly do not contradict the tasks of pan-European security.

[Podolnaya] On the contrary, the two things actually coincide.

[Bessmertnykh] They coincide. In practice they complement each other. If Russia's security interests are adequately safeguarded, one can safely say that pan-European security has a chance of surviving. I personally consider that the question of NATO membership, expansion of NATO, has been prematurely inflated to unbelievable proportions. Nobody in the West really wanted to expand this organization by bringing the East and Central European states into it. In my view President Yeltsin was absolutely right when, on one occasion, he said that Russia has no objection, in principle, to certain states joining this alliance, but in the first place, Russia's interests plainly decree that this process should take a certain period of time. Second, the NATO organization must itself be transformed. After all, this was something we agreed on. It was agreed that NATO would be transformed into an organization more in keeping with the present international political and strategic situation. So, the Russian interest stipulates that this organization should first be transformed and given new functions and status. The expansion of this new organization will not then be a problem.

This range of questions is bound, of course, to be very important. Here I would also like to mention the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The year 1995 is approaching. This is the year when the nuclear non-proliferation treaty comes up for renewal. I think that, as before, the United States and Russia should stand side by side on this question, coordinating all their actions in perfect harmony. [end recording]

Itinerary Given

LD1101154194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1506 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—U.S. President Bill Clinton and the accompanying officials will arrive in the Russian capital late at night on January 12 on board of the Air Force-1 plane. At the Vnukovo-2 airport they will be met by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and head for the place of their accommodation.

The working part of the visit will start on Thursday, January 13. An official meeting ceremony between the U.S. President and his Russian counterpart Boris Yeltsin will be held in the morning in Kremlin's St. George Hall. After greetings the two leaders will have a conversation to be followed by another round of the summit negotiations. There will be a short break between the meetings to enable their brief sight-seeing tour on Kremlin grounds.

In the afternoon Bill Clinton will visit the St. Daniel's Monastery and meet Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksey II. At night there will be a reception for representatives of the Russian political, business, scientific and public communities at the Moscow residence of the U.S. ambassador.

The program will end with an unofficial dinner in a narrow circle at the Russian president's countryside residence.

Early in the morning on Friday, January 14, Bill Clinton will attend a ceremony of huge symbolic meaning for the Russian and U.S. peoples - he will visit the Unknown Soldier's tomb near the Kremlin wall to lay a wreath.

After the ceremony to commemorate the Russian-U.S. combat union in the Second World War, the U.S. delegation will come to the Yekaterina Hall in Kremlin to attend a tripartite meeting of the Russian, U.S. and Ukrainian delegations and sign documents.

The Russian-U.S. negotiations will continue in an expanded composition to result in signing of joint documents in Vladimir's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. A news conference of the two presidents will mark the negotiations completion.

The U.S. leader will visit the Ostankino TV center on Friday afternoon to address the Russian TV viewers and people invited to the studio and answer questions of Russians.

Bill Clinton's wife will arrive in Moscow on Friday to have a separate program of stay, including a visit to a children's hospital.

The same day will witness a state reception given by Boris Yeltsin in honor of Bill Clinton and his wife in the Kremlin Faceted Chamber. The two leaders will exchange toasts.

The U.S. President will end his Moscow visit on Saturday, January 15. After visiting the U.S. embassy for an unofficial meeting with embassy staffers and members of their families, Bill Clinton will go to Kremlin to attend an official farewell ceremony in St. George's Hall.

The president and the accompanying officials will leave Moscow for Belarus on a visit.

Clinton's Stop in Kiev Viewed

LD1101181994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The brief stop at Kiev's airport to be made by President Bill Clinton on his way to Moscow will mean a gesture of good will and a kind of reward for the compromise reached at the Russian-American-Ukrainian consultations held in Washington recently, a high-ranking official from Russia's Foreign Ministry told Interfax on Tuesday.

According to him, participants in the consultations agreed in principle that the nuclear arms deployed in Ukraine will be removed to Russia in exchange for compensation from Moscow. This circumstance made it possible to conduct a meeting between the Russian, American, and Ukrainian presidents on January 14 within the framework of the upcoming Russian-American summit.

According to the ministry official, the plan worked out in Washington envisages that the nuclear arms to be removed from Ukraine will be deconcentrated in Russia. "Russian specialists will deconcentrate the enriched uranium of nuclear warheads, that is bring it to the level of uranium used as fuel," he said.

"Russia will sell that fuel to the Americans, who are in control of almost all uranium markets. In addition, part of that uranium will be supplied to Ukraine as fuel for its nuclear power plants. In other words, Ukraine will get some compensation for the nuclear arms to be removed from its territory."

This plan, the Russian diplomat pointed out, will be reflected in a special statement and a memorandum to be issued after the proposed meeting between the Russian, American, and Ukrainian presidents in Moscow. "This plan is to be supplemented with concrete figures, calculations, etc. But this is a purely technical issue to be resolved after the Moscow summit in the process of negotiations," he said.

According to him, "it is essential that in Moscow Ukraine will indicate the exact date when no nuclear weapons will be left on its soil." The date in question will be known only by January 14, since the relevant negotiations are continuing. Nevertheless, this circumstance prompted the U.S. president to make changes in the itinerary of his trip," he said.

According to preliminary plans, the official noted, in the course of his European tour President Clinton was to visit officially not only Moscow and Minsk, but also Kiev. "However, Ukraine's 'nuclear drift' and the Ukrainian parliament's failure to ratify the START-I treaty and the Lisbon Protocol to it in full (IF note: START-I was ratified, with numerous reservations, along with the Lisbon Protocol with the exception of Article 5, which obliged Ukraine to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a denuclearized state) nudged the Americans toward striking Kiev off their list. After the consultations in Washington the stick was replaced by a carrot - Bill Clinton will make a stop at Kiev's airport, if only for an hour," he said.

According to the information available to Interfax, the program for the American president's state visit to Moscow has been fully coordinated; it will be published on Wednesday. However some details of the program became known to Interfax.

Bill Clinton is expected to arrive in Moscow Wednesday evening (at about 22:00).

He will not be accompanied by his wife; he will stay at the Radisson-Slavyanskaya Hotel. However on January 14, when Clinton's wife, Hillary, arrives in Moscow, the couple will move to the Kremlin, where the official residence of the American leader will be located.

Russian-American top-level talks are scheduled for January 13 and 14. In addition, on January 14 the Russian and American presidents will be joined by their Ukrainian counterpart.

In the evening of January 14, Yeltsin and Clinton are expected to give a news conference.

In the morning of January 15, after the farewell ceremony to be held in the Kremlin, the U.S. president will leave for Minsk to hold talks with the leadership of Belarus.

Parliament Members Comment

LD1101175294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1725 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who also heads his party group in the State Duma, has described the coming visit of President Bill Clinton to Moscow as unnecessary and useless. In his opinion the visit discredits Clinton because "Russians are going to see he has come to support a team of bankers—the Gaydar government."

In Tuesday interview with INTERFAX Zhirinovskiy called the refusal of the American president to meet him a mistake. At the same time Zhirinovskiy is grateful for the refusal because this "gave credit to the leader of Liberal Democrats and added votes."

"Russians know that all this disarray was organized from the West, it was mostly Americans who helped our Democratic Russia to undermine the country," Zhirinovskiy declared. This refusal "indicates that I am the only honest and clean politician because the person who helps to undermine the country does not want to meet me".

A leading figure in the Communist group in the State Duma Victor Ilyukhin does not attach any hopes to the Clinton visit. "America has never wanted and will never want Russia to be a strong power, the main purpose of the United States is to split Russia and get free access to its energy resources", he told INTERFAX on Tuesday.

Ilyukhin feels that lately Russia "has involuntarily stopped planning its home and foreign policies and has been living on hints from the United States." He attributed the coming visit to the need "to support the Russian president and government" after the December elections that demonstrated, in his opinion, that "the situation has notably changed to the disadvantage of the ruling regime."

A leading figure in another parliamentary group Grigoriy Yavlinskiy does not expect anything special and thinks the visit will be simply a pleasant exchange of opinions between the two presidents.

Neither does the leader of the Democratic Party Nikolay Travkin believe that the United States can help Russia in any way. If Russia were recognized as an equal partner in politics and economy, this would help Russia best. "We do not need any tips," Travkin thinks.

A member of the presidential council Andranik Migranian has told journalists that President Clinton is going to make a mistake if he selects the participants for his meeting with the leaders of political parties and groups. If Clinton simply refuses to meet Zhirinovskiy, the advisor does not see a great problem in that. However, if he refuses to meet other opposition groups too, this will give the opposition another pretext to criticize democratic parties for their excessively close ties with the United States.

Preparations Noted

LD1201091194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0759 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Polyakov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS— As Clinton moves from Western to Eastern Europe, the leaders of former Soviet republics - Russia, Ukraine and Belarus - are preparing for his visit by comparing noted and making last-minute moves ahead of the arrival of the American President on the former Soviet territory.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is the first to meet the U.S. President during a brief stop-over in Kiev's Borispol airport on Wednesday.

The brief exchange between the U.S. and Ukrainian presidents in Kiev is expected to set the tone for the tripartite summit in Moscow on January 14, in which Clinton, Yeltsin and Kravchuk hope to discuss and sign documents which will ease relations between these three countries complicated by Ukraine's stance on the nuclear weapons deployed on its territory. Incidentally, Yeltsin had to issue a formal invitation to Kravchuk to arrive in the Russian capital, whereas a short time ago a telephone message was sufficient to bring former leaders of any of the Soviet republic to the USSR capital.

Meanwhile, Belarusian Leader Stanislav Shushkevich has already arrived in Moscow for talks with President Yeltsin. Although a report from Minsk says the visit is mainly due to concentrate on bilateral relations between Russia and Belarus, the two leaders will pay no less attention to comparing their strategic notes and coordinating positions with a view to the U.S. President's visit to Moscow which is due to begin later on Wednesday.

Russia, Ukraine and Belarus were the first to sign an agreement in December 1990 which put an effective end to the Soviet Union and initiated the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which most of the other former Soviet republics, except for the Baltic countries, joined thereafter. However, frictions continued to exist between the three Slav countries, the former Soviet nuclear weapons being one of the points of contention.

Another debatable point is these countries' differing attitudes to NATO's proposed extension to the east.

It can be surmised with a considerable degree of certainty that these issues will feature prominently both in bilateral talks between Yeltsin and Clinton and particularly in the tripartite summit in which Yeltsin, Clinton and Kravchuk will seek to come to terms on these pressing questions.

Visit Seen as Support for Yeltsin

PM1101160194 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 5

[Yevgeniy Popov article: "A New Partnership? What Political Baggage the U.S. President Is Bringing With Him to Russia"]

[Text] For some time now summits, as these top-level meetings are traditionally called, have been an inexhaustible source of inspiration for caricaturists. In fact cartoonists started mining this vein of gold well before the era of Gorbachevian perestroyka, back in the days when the Soviet Union still existed as one of the two superpowers. Our editorial files contain a copy of the American magazine NEWSWEEK which carried items about two interlinked events. The magazine announced the election of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin, calling him a "talented demagogue." Alongside this report, a column of numorous remarks opens with a comment from Gorbachev which he let drop in a conversation with some Americans on a Washington street: "I really feel at home here!"

Alas, they were already openly mocking us, enjoying the joke to the full and rubbing their tummies with glee. But what can we say now about these so-called summits?!

On the eve of the Clinton-Yeltsin meeting scheduled for 12-15 January, the British newspaper THE TIMES took the liberty of giving the U.S. President a few practical recommendations. THE TIMES believes that it is pointless for the West to be soft on Russia and try to "placate" Yeltsin since "Russia is no longer a superpower or an equal partner, and Yeltsin," THE TIMES claims, "is a caricature rather than a politician." Therefore, it says, Clinton, who is well known for wanting to please everybody, might not on this occasion demonstrate this trait in his character because "he should not refuse to be confrontational toward Russia." Needless to say, THE TIMES reasons, Russia will not like the U.S. position, particularly on such a sore point as the enlargement of NATO through the addition of Russia's former Warsaw Pact partners, the East and Central European countries, but "in the final analysis that is Russia's business."

We do not know whether Clinton will heed this advice, but this is what Vice President Al Gore stated the other day on his behalf: "The United States resolutely supports plans to bring NATO and East Europe closer together."

The traditional list of questions on the agenda of the Gorbachev era—"bread, milk, flour, etc."—will naturally still receive emphasis, but the topic of using Western loans to support reform has long set teeth on edge, and it is now totally clear that America is at best prepared only to make gestures involving charitable aid, and even this is limited to gestures that will yield greater dividends on the purely propaganda level.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, the U.S. Moscow Embassy information bulletin reported, has delivered a very emotional report entitled "New Partnership: Relations Between the United States, Russia, and the New Independent States." The report contains a passage about the congressman's personal impressions of Moscow, which are capable of wringing tears even from people with hearts of stone: "...The price of bread has risen from 10 kopeks to 40 rubles [R], i.e. by 4,000 percent. Even though shelves in stores are full, by no means everybody can afford these goods.... On one of the central streets of Moscow three wretched children with sad faces sat begging—their dirty, skinny hands in torn gloves stretched toward me brought to mind the era of Charles Dickens."

We must suppose that attempts will be made to shield Bill Clinton from this sort of distressing encounter on the Moscow streets. Moreover, the Missouri Democrat's news about the price of Russian bread is already relatively stale—these days, alas, Russians can only dream about loaves costing R40; they now cost approximately R300. But if such an encounter were to take place, how could the U.S. President comfort the child beggars? THE WASHINGTON POST has reported that Clinton intends not to increase, but on the contrary to cut aid to foreign states.

Nevertheless we may assume that Clinton will not leave B.N. Yeltsin without any support whatsoever; Yeltsin is the man whom the U.S. President once enthusiastically called "our guy!" Many things have bound Clinton and Yeltsin together closely, particularly during the past year, marked by bloody events. On the eve of the U.S. President's visit to Moscow it is appropriate to remind readers that this trip could have taken place last year—immediately after the declaration of special rule in Russia. At the time the U.S. Government circulated the transcript of a Clinton news conference held 23 March 1993. Let us cite some excerpts from this document:

Question. Don't you think your visit to Moscow could drag the United States too deeply into the power struggle in the (Russian) capital?

Answer. I would like to go to the meeting with an "aggressive" and very specific U.S. aid plan....

Question. What policy will the United States opt for if the Soviet legislators vote to impeach President Yeltsin, which looks extremely likely? Will you continue to regard Yeltsin as the legitimately elected leader of Russia?

Answer. Today that is precisely how I see him. He is the only (nationally) elected figure. The rest take their cue from a Constitution adopted in the Communist era. Right now I do not wish to consider other possible responses....

However, additional information about these "other possible responses" was then supplied on the pages of THE NEW YORK TIMES by a ranking White House Administration spokesman who wished to remain anonymous. He implied that the United States would resolutely support Yeltsin if he assumed emergency powers: "If Yeltsin suspends the activity of the undemocratic parliament, this will not necessarily be an undemocratic act." And so in October the U.S. Administration unconditionally approved of Yeltsin's order to open fire. At the same time it is still not entirely clear: Was the administration merely an indirect party to this com[illegible] whereupon the whole world looked on, stunned, as tanks opened fire on the Russian parliament?! One thing cannot be doubted: The Russian president is not the only person whom the events of September-October 1993 will come back to haunt.

On the eve of Clinton's arrival in Moscow, the British newspaper THE DAILY TELEGRAPH quoted some spiteful words by Zhirinovskiy. In response to the U.S. President's refusal to meet with him in Moscow, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party called Clinton a coward and advised him to "stay at home and play his saxophone."

It is, incidentally, entirely possible that Clinton will bring his saxophone with him, but the question of what else he will be carrying in his Moscow baggage remains open at the present time....

'Problems' Viewed

PM1101164394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Melor Sturua report: "Any President Needs a Devil's Advocate"]

[Text] Minneapolis—On the eve of his departure for West Europe and Russia President Clinton met with a group of political observers. The discussion was not only interesting but instructive, since it touched not only on the essence but the psychology of the problems which Clinton will encounter in the course of his visit.

NEW YORK TIMES observer William Safire asked Clinton whether there is anyone within his administration with a view different from the Clinton-Christopher-Talbott line. In particular, is there anyone who would dare say this to the White House incumbent—if you do not accept the East European countries into NATO now, when Russia is weak, you will never be able to do so when Russia is strong again.

Clinton's reply was very laconic—nobody in my administration holds such a view.

Justifying this policy, Clinton described himself as a "force for optimism," particularly as regards Russia's future. "I believe," he said, "that if they continue as a democratic, market-oriented, reformist, noninterventionist nation, they will become a great power in the traditional sense of the word, and not an empire.... The whole history, character, and texture of Russia confirms this."

Unfortunately, the whole history, character, and texture of Russia not only do not confirm this but resolutely refute it. President Clinton's above statement demonstrates the danger posed by the absence of a "devil's advocate" among his foreign policy advisers on Russia—someone who could somehow balance the influence exerted by the former TIME observer, translator of Khrushchev's memoirs, and friend from Clinton's Oxford student days.

It would be interesting to know whether there is a "devil's advocate" in President Yeltsin's entourage who, despite official policy, would recommend that he not prevent the East European countries from joining NATO. Speaking purely logically, there clearly is such an adviser in the Kremlin or close to it. After all, somebody prepared Boris Yeltsin's famous visit to the East European capitals, his meetings, and the texts of the speeches in which the Russian president by no means objected to his hospitable hosts joining NATO.

Of course, it is possible to cite changed circumstances since then—currently defined in both Russia and the West by the single code word "Zhirinovskiy." Admittedly, everyone deciphers that code in their own way. Moscow claims that expanding NATO to cover East Europe would merely be grist to the mill of the ultrarightwingers and fascists, resurrecting the dark shadows of the policy of containment and even roll-back. Roughly similar arguments are being used in Washington, which has invented the elastic "Partnership for Peace" formula. Whereas the East European capitals, on the contrary, see the Zhirinovskiy factor as an argument in favor of NATO membership.

There is no room in this report to provide the extensive arguments in favor of each approach. I believe that right is on the side of Walesa and Havel rather than Yeltsin and Clinton—and that it is reinforced by the whole history, character, and texture of postwar international development. It is hard even to imagine where Yalta would have led had NATO not negated its effects. Of course, Yeltsin's Russia is not Stalin's Soviet Union. But NATO membership for the East European countries would make this transformation even more decisive, if not irreversible.

One more point. Which is more important for peace in Europe—Poland or Portugal, the Czech Republic or Greece? Hypocrisy dictates the reply that they are all important in their own way. Real politics and history—with its rich texture—tell us something else. But the fact is that, as was the case before World War II, the United States is not sufficiently mature in moral terms to fight for Warsaw or Prague even hypothetically. (All the more so in the nuclear era). But it was this reluctance to fight that was one of the main reasons why it ultimately proved necessary to fight.

Oscar Wilde claims in one of his famous paradoxes that the best way to avoid temptation is to give in to it. In politics such paradoxes can be catastrophic. In politics it is better not to tempt fate, but to put the tempters in their place from the very outset. Whatever they may be called—Hitler or Zhirinovskiy. After all, Clinton is essentially not making a concession to Yeltsin but placating Zhirinovskiy. At any event, Vladimir Volfovich is entirely capable of drawing this interpretation from Clinton's "Partnership for Peace" lifesaver. Any concession which Clinton makes or will make to Yeltsin in this area strengthens both objectively and subjectively not the Russian president but his neofascist opponent.

'No Surprises' Expected

PM1201114494 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 7

[Nikolay Dolgopolov report: "Bill Will Carry Off No Surprises"]

[Text] Clinton lands at Vnukovo-2 airport at 2235 today. Early in the morning of 13 January the president has a one-on-one meeting with B.N. Yeltsin in St. George's Hall, then a walk around the Kremlin in the company of the Russian [illegible]ent, talks, talks...and a meeting with the patriarc[illegible] in the evening a trip to Ogarevo, where he will be given supper at Yeltsin's residence. In the morning of 14 January, after laying the traditional wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Clinton will set off for a far from traditional tripartite meeting. His interlocutors will be two presidents: the Russian and the Ukrainian, Leonid Kravchuk. By all appearances, without quoting anyone, from this meeting unexpectedly great things can be expected. Let us call it a "breakthrough" beforehand. So Ukraine will acquire nuclear-free status and become a nonnuclear state. That would seem well and truly to put an end to a highly complex problem which, it has now emerged, three countries have been working energetically and without publicity to resolve.

No more sensations can really be expected. Except that we are all to have a personal meeting with Bill Clinton on "Ostankino" on 14 January at around 1530 (keep an eye on the TV schedules). The president, in his customary manner, will not address the audience of young people that has been assembled for him, but will conduct an easy and elegant Clintonian dialogue with them.

And so the collection of documents that is customary in these cases will be adopted and signed. A declaration, known, naturally, as the "Moscow" declaration, is bound to be chief among them. Its most important component is that the two presidents signing it will note that relations between Russia and the United States have entered the stage of mature partnership.

What else is there of interest in connection with the summit—sorry, the official meeting? They will announce the demise of COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls], which will come to an end in March, and the formation of a new monitoring organization in its place, in which Russia's rights are admittedly not fully defined. Most likely the total sum of U.S. aid, or rather, assistance, will be $2 billion a year. Russia will presumably put forward an unusual initiative on the formation of joint armed forces with the States, under UN auspices. At least, this matter has apparently been agreed at the top Russian military level. On our part, we are prepared to assign the 27th Motorized Infantry Division, with the 3d Infantry Division on the U.S. side.

And in conclusion, for those who were expecting political sensations in connection with the unexpected—for the Americans—outcome of our elections: Although Clinton's very busy schedule allows time for a few events that are not indicated in the program, the president certainly will not meet with Zhirinovskiy.

The scene of departure from Moscow for Minsk will be played out at Vnukovo, at 1015 on 15 January.

Arbatov Urges U.S. To Halt Support for Gaydar-Style Reforms

LD1101182494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] "The Americans would never conduct in their own country reforms of the kind launched in Russia in 1992. Zhirinovskiy's godfathers are Gaydar, the International Monetary Fund, and monetarists of the Geoffrey Sachs type." This view was expressed in an interview with Interfax by the Director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, Dr. Georgiy Arbatov.

According to Arbatov, he fears that during his visit to Moscow U.S. President Bill Clinton may fail to realize the need for "great changes in Russia's economic and social policy that could lead the country toward stabilization." Such changes alone are capable of turning Russia into a "normal country posing no threat to the rest of the world," Arbatov said.

According to him, stability in Russia did not increase after December's parliamentary elections. On the whole, he said, the "shock therapy" hit science, culture, education and health service most of all. "A horrible de-intellectualization of society" is in evidence. "Gaydar-style reforms are a road to the third world. Many people, and not only in this country, began to realize this after the success scored by Zhirinovskiy," Arbatov declared.

He believes that "Russia must rely primarily on its own strength." "As a matter of fact, the Americans have never given us tangible material aid, but they did us a disservice by recommending Gaydar-style reforms - the 'shock therapy'. The greatest aid they can give us is to stop giving bad advice," Dr. Arbatov said.

Arbatov said he hopes that after his visit to Moscow the U.S. president will acquire "a new insight into Russia's economic problems and tasks." "I would be very glad if precisely this happened," he said.

According to Arbatov, Russian-American relations today can be described as "normal on the whole." "There are neither serious breakthroughs, nor sharp deteriorations in them. When the 'cold war' ended, Russian-American summits lost their dramatism. It's obvious that such summits will become routine with the passage of time," he concluded.

Joint-American Environment Conference Set for 1994

LD1101172694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1634 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondend Aleksandr Shuvalov]

[Text] Moscow, January 11 (TASS)—Russia and the United States of America are planning to hold a joint conference on environmental protection in 1994. An initiative belongs to the Russian Space agency and the CIA.

The Russian Ministry of Ecology also has shown interest in taking part in the conferenc. Its experts believe that the forum will draft joint scientific approaches towards ecological problems. The two countries should coordinate methods and instruments for estimating the state of the environment, norms of top permissible concentrations of pollution, levels of radiation, noise, vibrations, magnetic field and other hazardious factors.

One of the tasks of the forthcoming conference is supposed to be the development of joint decisions on environment monitoring from the space, especially of the arears of nuclear power plants and other dangerous objects.

Prospects for Russian-U.S. Agro-Industrial Cooperation

LD11011650[illegible] Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 11 [illegible]

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The last American credits for purchasing grain have been used up. On behalf of the Russian Government the Exportkhleb Foreign-Trade Association has purchased in the United States and delivered to Russia about 2.7 million tonnes of grain and 650,000 of soya grist. This means that the programme, dubbed in the United States as "food for progress," has been fulfilled.

Exportkhleb President Aleksandr Belik told ITAR-TASS that this credit was quite advantageous for Russia. It was granted for a period of 15 years. Repayment by instalments is to begin within 7 years from now.

All in all, Russia has purchased abroad, according to Belik, about 10.5 million tonnes of grain. Although purchases were made also in other Western countries, the United States has remained Russia's main supplier, as in many previous years.

Does Russia's intention to cut grain imports signify its desire to curtail cooperation with American agro-industrial firms? Belik believes that the possible area of such cooperation is sufficiently broad. He noted that Russia, no matter what efforts it exerts, will not be able to satisfy all its requirements in soya, maize, seeds, and fodder additives. The purchases will not be as impressive as they had been, but they are unavoidable. Therefore, Exportkhleb does not plan to interrupt its contacts.

"American grain farms are now experiencing some difficulties," Belik said. "The situation is better at farms that have gone over in proper time to the processing of grain into fodder, that have obtained a foothold in the food and processing industry. Why shouldn't we cooperate with them in the building of soya-processing complexes, combined fodder factories, and port elevators in Russia? The summer sales of ready goods is ending and we are trying to convince our American partners that investment ventures will lay the foundation for futue broad cooperation. As to Exportkhleb, it knows our market, its requirements and possibilities, and is ready to discuss various versions of cooperation, crediting, settlements and other terms meeting the interests of all the partners involved."

Russian, U.S. Space Cooperation Yields Results

LD1101212194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1929 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The director general of the State Space Research and Industrial Center named after Khrunichev, member of the board of directors of the US-Russian joint venture "Lockheed-Khrunichev- Energiya" Anatoliy Kiselev said they had managed to conclude 9 commercial contracts on launching satellites for western companies using the Russian "Proton" booster over 12 months, thanks to the cooperation with "Lockheed." The contracts' total value is over $6000 million.

Kiselev told Interfax today that the deals envisioned launching the 21st low-orbit satellite within the framework of the global telecommunications system "Iridium" designed by the American "Motorola," one of the satellites of the third series of the international consortium INMARSAT, another one of the American company Loral, etc.

Kiselev pointed out that the cooperation with Lockheed and signing the deals was possible only thanks to the Russian government's decision to join the system of international control of non-proliferation of missile technologies. At the moment, Russia does not have deals running counter to this treaty.

According to Kiselev, the year of cooperation with American partners who took up marketing the most powerful Russian booster ever used and licensing satellites manufactured by western companies enabled the Russian Space and Missiles Center to pack up the program of commercial launches up to 2000 and look into the future with optimism.

U.S. Grants Russia Subsidies in Power Industry

PM1201110394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 6

[Own Information report: "Americans Are Sponsoring Our Power Industry"]

[Text] The governments of the United States and the Russian Federation have reached agreement on the provision to Russia of a nonreturnable subsidy of $125 million for the implementation of a program for the import of energy-saving and nature protection equipment and materials. This is being done within the framework of cooperation between the Russian Federation and the United States in the sphere of the power industry and environmental protection. The program is being funded by the United States in stages beginning with a nonreturnable subsidy of $10 million which will be distributed by the Russian Federation Government between the state and private sectors of the Russian economy to finance the import of equipment, materials, and services.

The minimum value of a deal for the acquisition of materials and equipment (the supplier in the United States will be selected on a competitive basis) is $100,000 and the financial resources in question will not be subject to taxation or customs duties.

Those components of the state and private sectors in the Russian Federation interested in obtaining such a subsidy must submit their applications to the Russian-American joint council created to oversee the general direction of the program under the auspices of the Russian Federation Government's Commission on Questions of International Humanitarian and Technical Assistance.

Russia, U.S. Ease Visa-Issuing Procedures

LD1201114194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1010 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Krylovich]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry and the U.S. State Department have exchanged notes on the facilitation of the existing visa-issuing procedures, the Consular Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry reported today.

The exchange of notes came as a result of the implementation of agreements concluded at the Russo-American summit in Vancouver last April. It is intended to officially assert the high level of mutual understanding between Russia and the United states in the sphere of consular relations, to systematise and facilitate to the maximum all the visa formalities, and also to eliminate obsolete provisions which are ineffective and contradict the current spirit of cooperation.

The agreement is based on the principle of issuing multiple visas for terms ranging from one to two years to a considerable share of the citizens of both countries. This refers primarily to participants of various exchanges in the sphere of science and education, officials of joint Russo-American organisations, companies and banks, businessmen, and also certain categories of officials of state institutions, making official trips.

This agreement, which will take effect as of January 15, 1994, cogs in with the relations of partnership and cooperation, typical for current Russo-American relations, and pursues the purpose of further promoting political, commercial, economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, expanding contacts among people and between the public organisations of the Russian Federation and the United States, the report of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Consular Department notes.

Yeltsin Meets With Belarus' Shushkevich; Treaty Discussed

LD1201114794 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] At the meeting between Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, in Moscow today, a detailed analysis was made of the interstate relations which have taken shape.

In the center of attention were questions of economic cooperation. There was also discussion of other questions of bilateral relations. The sides are convinced of the need to draft a new interstate Russian-Belarusian treaty of friendship and cooperation that highlights the desire of Russia and Belarus to build democratic states with a socially-oriented market economy and that also highlights the special level of economic, political, and human relations whicha are historical between the two countries.

Communique on Treaty

LD1201123294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1131 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—At their meeting today, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet came to the conviction that it is necessary to draw up a new interstate Russian-Belarus treaty on friendship and cooperation, which would be in line with Russia's and Belarus' desire to build democratic states with a socially-oriented market economy, and with the historically special level of economic, political, and human relations between the two countries. This message is contained in the communique released by the Russian president's press service.

A thorough analysis of the existing interstate relations was conducted at the meeting. Issues of economic cooperation were the focus of attention. Other questions of bilateral relations were also discussed, the document notes.

The two sides have exchanged opinions in connection with the forthcoming visits to Moscow and Minsk by U.S. President Bill Clinton, the communique notes. It has been noted that in the process of building economic relations with the United States, it is time to go from aid programs to programs of assistance in trade and investments as the main proviso of economic development and market integration of CIS countries' economies in the world economy.

Defense Ministry Statement on Events in Latvia

LD1101133894 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] In connection with the incident in Riga, the Information and Press Directorate of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry has circulated a statement that states specifically:

On the morning of 10 January, an armed group of Latvian militia seized several buildings belonging to the North Western Group of Forces in a suburb of Riga. In response to a demand that the seized installations be vacated, the chairman of the suburb of Vidzeme gave the command to arrest the generals who had arrived at the scene. The Russian generals were handcuffed and put in a car that drove off toward the Russian border. Colonel General Mayorov, the commander of the North Western Group of Forces, informed the Russian defense minister of the incident. Army General Pavel Grachev, the defense minister, gave the order to put Russian troops stationed in Latvia on alert and to step up the guarding of installations and buildings. The men and materiel of the airborne assault troops and military transport aircraft were also put on alert. The commander informed President Ulmanis of Latvia of the incident, and he gave the order to free those arrested and issued an apology. The Russian generals and all the installations seized were freed.

The Defense Ministry of Russia demands an immediate investigation and that the culprits be punished.

'No Danger' of Incursion Into Latvia

LD1101173894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] There was no danger of an incursion by Russian troops into Latvia in connection with the arrest of two Russian generals there, Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov told INTERFAX on Tuesday [11 January].

The Russian troops stationed in Latvia went on higher alert in connection with the incident, but they neither left the places of their deployment nor launched any aggressive actions, he pointed out.

As INTERFAX already reported, Monday morning groups of armed Latvian militiamen seized several installations belonging to the North-Western Group of Russian Troops. The two Russian generals who came to the locality were arrested on instruction from the head of the administration of a Riga district. Only when President Guntis Ulmanis intervened and presented his apologies, the Russian generals were released and the invaded installations were freed.

According to Krylov, this "gross and unprecedented action was probably designed to provoke Russia to take retaliatory measures." "The saddest thing is that it was launched at a time when progress was being made at the Russian-Latvian talks in Riga in regard to the key aspects concerning the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia," he noted.

Kostikov Warns Against Repeat of Incident

LD1201031094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1656 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The spokesman for the Russian President Vyacheslav Kostikov has said Tuesday that Russia will take into account the American experience while responding to incidents like the one that happened with Russian military and diplomats in Riga January 10.

Latvian volunteers blocked several buildings belonging to the Russian army and kept two Russian generals in handcuffs for several hours and showed a disgusting approach to the Russian Ambassador in Latvia.

Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has ordered that the Russian military transport planes, paratroopers and pilots in the republic be put to combat alert owing to the events in the Latvian capital.

Kostikov has told reporters in Moscow Tuesday that should similar incidents repeat, the reaction of the president and Russia would be tougher, I would say very tough taking into account the world precedents.

Skrunda Radar Withdrawal Viewed

LD1101192994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Russia is ready to reduce the term of the temporary operation of its early warning radar station in Skrunda, Latvia from 6 to 5 years. This was reported to Interfax on Tuesday [11 January] by the head of the Russian delegation to a Riga conference of Russian and Latvian officials Sergey Zotov. He said the Latvian side was offered a new Russian draft agreement on the temporary status of the strategic facility. He stressed that the indicates Russia is trying to meet the Latvian side halfway.

As we have reported one of Russia's conditions for the withdrawal of its remaining 13,000 troops by August 31 is the right to control the radar station in Skrunda for several years. Latvia has agreed to that in principle, but finds it necessary to reduce the length of this period.

The conference in Riga is expected to continue on Wednesday and the discussion of the draft agreement on the radar station to continue during the coming round of talks in Moscow later this month.

Sergey Zotov described the Monday incident involving the Russian military and Russian army facilities as a crude provocation of extremist and nationalist forces aimed at torpedoing bilateral talks as well as a test of Russia's force, its ability to protect its facilities.

Zotov thinks the incident should prompt the West to conclude that Latvia is an unreliable partner.

Before the meeting Sergey Zotov protested against the incident to the head of the Latvian delegation Martins Virsis and demanded a full investigation of thee incident and punishment for those responsible.

Spokeswoman Comments Further

LD1101224294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Many people were alarmed by yesterday's report from Latvia about provocative actions by the local authorities against two Russian generals. In this connection, various points of view have appeared. Incidentally, Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs stated that an armed conflict was a possibility. How is this assessed by the Russian Defense Ministry? We have contacted Yelena Agapova, the press secretary of the head of the Russian military department, over the phone.

[Begin Agapova recording] First of all, I would like to recall how these unprecedented events developed. In the morning on 10 January in a suburb of Riga, armed groups of the Latvian home guard seized the House of Officers, the billeting and operating unit, a hotel, and a number of other installations that belong to the Northwestern Group of Forces. Major General Nikolay Taylakov, the deputy commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, and Major General Aleksandr Vodopyanov, the commander's aide for work with personnel, immediately arrived at the scene of the incident. When they demanded that the facilities seized be surrended, the chairman of the Vidzeme district commanded that the generals should be arrested. Highly unprecedented and most unceremonious actions were used against them. I would call them humiliating actions. They were handcuffed and put in a car, which was driven toward the Russian border.

Naturally, Colonel General Mayorov, the commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, informed Russian Defense Minister Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev. The minister ordered that all Russian troops stationed in Latvia should be put on a state of operational readiness and that the protection of installations and buildings belonging to the Northwestern Group of Forces should be stepped up. The forces and equipment of the airborne troops were also put on combat readiness. These include the famous Pskov division and also units of the military transport aviation.

The commander of the Northwesten Group of Forces also informed Latvian President Ulmanis about what had happened. During a meeting with the commander, Ulmanis expressed bewilderment as to what had happened, gave instructions that those arrested should be released, and conveyed his apologies. Yesterday by 1700 hours the Russian generals and all the occupied facilities had been surrended.

In connection with this, the Russian Defense Ministry is demanding that an immediate investigation should be carried out and those responsible for what happened punished. The Russian Defense Ministry believes any violent and illegal acts, like those we are now speaking about, against Russian servicemen, military units, or installations of Russian troops will be halted in a most decisive manner. [end recording]

We also asked Yelena Agapova how the Defense Ministry sees the reasons for this most blatant provocation against Russian servicemen. As far as we remember, things like this have happened more than once.

[Begin Agapova recording] To our great misfortune, this is not the first instance. On 27 November the Latvian home guard stopped an UAZ vehicle. Threatening with weapons, they brought the vehicle and a driver to the headquarters of the Latvian home guard battalion, where a radio station from the vehicle was dismantled.

On 14 December in the region of Plavinas, unknown persons in a car fired from small-caliber weapons on a courier and postal communications vehicle. The latter was carrying correspondence from Riga.

All this simply indicates that certain political forces are constantly trying to create a tense and nervous atmosphere around Russian troops and thus, have an effect on both the deadlines for the withdrawal and on the progress of the talks, and, in so doing, to acquire certain political capital. Unfortunately, all such attempts cast a cloud over the relations between the two states and do not help the establishing of good-neighborly relations. [end recording]

It is understandable that the Defense Ministry is attentively observing the state of troops stationed in the Baltics. What is the morale of these troops like? What are they ready for?

[Begin Agapova recording] The Russian troops stationed on the territory of Latvia maintain calmness and restraint and, in the event of a situation like this recurring, they are ready to take adequate measures. [end recording]

Yeltsin Aide on Response

MK1201111094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed report based on INTERFAX and POSTFACTUM materials in the "Demarche" column: "It Has Been Decided To Consider the Incident in Riga as an Extremist Provocation. Talks on Troop Withdrawal Have Been Resumed"]

[Text] According to the Baltic News Service, President Yeltsin "does not intend to react officially" to the 10 January incident in Latvia. Nonetheless yesterday the Russian president's press secretary Kostikov came out with a sharp statement on this score. In the future Russia will take into account the "U.S. experience" of reacting in similar situations, Vyacheslav Kostikov said. In the press secretary's opinion, should such excesses be repeated, "the reaction by the president and Russia may be tougher, I would say, very tough indeed, based on world precedents."

Thereby the incident involving the detention in Riga of two Russian generals and the capture of Russian military installations has presumably been exhausted. In spite of threatening statements by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Defense Ministry, and the Russian Federation Embassy in Latvia issued Monday evening, yesterday bilateral talks on the pullout of Russian troops resumed in the Latvian capital. Moreover, the Russian delegation offered to reduce the term of temporary operation of the radar station in Skrunda from six to five years.

At the same time, the head of the Russian delegation, Ambassador at Large Sergey Zotov, described the action by the Latvian self-defense forces as "a gross provocation by extremist and nationalist forces aimed at torpedoing the Russian-Latvian negotiations" and also as "a test of Russia's force and its ability to defend its installations against attack." It needs to be recognized that the test has been impressive. According to Russian Federation Defense Minister Grachev, not only the troops deployed in Latvia but also units of the Pskov airborne division were put on alert.

The Russian demarches have produced an appropriate effect. Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis officially apologized to Russia. The Latvian Prosecutor's Office has initiated criminal proceedings over the detention of the generals. Andreys Ruchs, chairman of the Vidzemskiy district, who was in charge of this action, has been dismissed from his post.

Latvian Version of Arrest Accepted

PM1101170794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Diplomats in Riga and Moscow Choose Not To Exaggerate Incident"]

[Text] Following official apologies by the Latvian president and foreign minister, the tension in relations between Riga and Moscow has begun to abate.

As far as one can tell from what Russian diplomats are saying, Moscow is prepared to accept Latvia's story: The arrest of the two generals and seizure of the military facilities was the work of extremists operating without the republic leadership's knowledge. This was effectively admitted by Andrey Kozyrev as well. "A very crude provocation has occurred in Latvia," he said in a television interview. "It may be a provocation against the line of the Latvian authorities and president themselves." At the same time, according to the Russian minister, the generals' arrest was carried out by "armed territorial defense representatives, that is, government forces."

A spokesman for the Latvian Embassy in Moscow described this information as not entirely accurate: "In fact, the action was carried out mainly by the municipal police; that is, forces indirectly subordinate to Andrejs Rucs—head of Riga's Vidzeme Rayon. As for members of territorial defense subunits, they participated in the operation on their own initiative, without the approval of the republic authorities."

According to information from embassy staff, Rucs was dismissed on 11 January. Criminal proceedings have now been instituted against him. He is accused of exceeding his official authority and of unlawful arrest.

To all appearances, the explanations from the Latvian authorities satisfied the members of the Russian delegation who flew to Riga on Monday for a further round of consultations on the withdrawal of forces. On the morning of 11 January the Russian delegation head, special envoy Sergey Zotov, agreed to start the talks that had been called off the day before as a protest against the arrest of the generals.

Diplomats in Riga and Moscow chose not to exaggerate the incident. Nonetheless it is clear to both sides that certain political forces are behind Andrejs Rucs, and further provocations, including armed provocations, against the Russian military cannot be ruled out.

The deadline for the final withdrawal of forces has not yet been agreed—negotiations are continuing. The likelihood is that Riga will ultimately accept the schedule proposed by the Russians: The last soldier is to leave Latvian territory before 1 September 1994.

Crisis With Latvia Defused

PM1201122194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Colonel Igor Golin, chief of the Northwestern Group of Forces Press Center; Captain First Rank Valeriy Gromak; and Lieutenant Colonel Sergey Knyazkov: "Riga Provocation: Its Organizers Must Answer for Their Actions"; first three paragraphs are statement by Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Directorate of Press and Information]

[Excerpts] "On the morning of 10 January armed groups of Zemessargs (Latvian home defense guard) seized a number of military installations on the outskirts of Riga belonging to the Northwestern Group of Forces [NWGF]. Major General N.A. Taylakov, deputy commander of the NWGF, and Major General A.D. Vodopyanov, adjutant [pomoshchnik] to the NWGF commander for work with personnel, went to the scene of the incident. In response to their demand for the release of the facilities seized the chairman of the suburb of Vidzeme ordered the generals' arrest. The Russian generals were handcuffed and put into a car, which was driven off in the direction of the Russian border. NWGF Commander Colonel General L.S. Mayorov informed the Russian defense minister of what had happened. Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev issued instructions to place the Russian troops stationed in Latvia on combat alert and to step up security at facilities and buildings belonging to the NWGF. Likewise, air-assault troop and military transport aviation forces and resources were also placed on alert. The NWGF commander reported the event to Latvian President G. Ulmanis, who expressed bewilderment about what had happened, issued instructions for the arrested parties to be released, and offered his apologies. By 1700 hours the Russian generals and all the occupied facilities had been freed.

"The Russian Federation Defense Ministry demands an immediate investigation and the punishment of those responsible. Any violent, unlawful action against Russian servicemen, military units, or facilities belonging to Russian troops will be cut short in the most resolute manner. Responsibility for all possible consequences in this instance lies with the local authorities, who have an obligation to guarantee a normal atmosphere for Russian military units."

[Signed] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate [passage omitted]

For justice's sake it should be acknowledged that the Latvian official authorities' reaction was immediate. Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis declared that the home guards' actions were illegal and that measures would be taken to bring about the Russian generals' immediate release. By 1700 hours the generals had been freed and conveyed to Riga, and by the end of the day, according to a statement by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, official apologies had been received via the Russian Federation Embassy.

As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA learned from Inart Skukinsh [name as transliterated], ITAR-TASS correspondent in Riga, an emergency session of the Latvian National Defense Council chaired by Guntis Ulmanis took place in the evening. It adopted a decree comprising the following five decisions: to examine the essentials of the emergency which had taken place; to relieve Andrejs Rucs, chairman of the Vidzeme district council and deputy chairman of the Riga assembly, of his duties; to conduct official inquiries within the home guard and municipal police of the relevant Vidzeme precinct; to prepare a response for Russia on what happened; and to clarify normative acts regulating the transfer and receipt of Russian Army property.

At an emergency session of the Latvian Government held at midnight, Republic Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs evaluated the event as a provocation.

Late in the evening Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs spoke on Latvian television. He noted that "armed conflict was a real threat." And in a statement for the press circulated the same evening the Latvian Republic Foreign Ministry made it known that "the Latvian Government will do everything possible to ensure that actions of a provocative nature which may damage Latvia's prestige in the world and complicate the domestic political situation in the republic will not be allowed to happen in the future."

The conflict would appear to have been defused, and 11 January talks began between the heads of Russian and Latvian government delegations. However, nobody should be left in any doubt that Russia will take all requisite measures to protect its citizens, all its citizens, but particularly those in military or diplomatic uniform, from this type of encroachment.

Trofimov Says Russia Maintains Oil Supplies to Ukraine

LD1101173294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Russia "strictly observes the schedule of oil supplies to Ukraine," representative of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Fuel and Energy Vladimir Trofimov told Interfax.

He said that since the beginning of the year, Russia had supplied Ukraine with 600,000 tons of crude oil. Oil with a high content of sulphur accounts for a greater part of Russian oil supplies. It can only be processed by the Kremenchug oil refinery located in Ukraine.

Moscow and Kiev have reached the agreement on preserving the price of $80 a ton in 1994. Earlier, Russia was planning to sell oil to Ukraine at $100 a ton.

A high-ranking representative of the state enterprise Rosneft (Russian Oil) told Interfax that Russia was not planning to sharply reduce oil supplies to Ukraine in 1994. He believes that Ukrainian officials often make such allegations in order to put pressure on Russia. They do not understand that the most important problem for us is to receive payment for the oil already supplied, he said. This year, Kiev requested that Russia sell it more than 30 Mn tons of oil.

He also noted that a possible curtailment of oil supplies to Ukraine was due exclusively to technical problems.

In 1993 Russia sold 19.293 Mn tons of oil to Ukraine, although initially it was planning to supply 19.5 Mn tons of oil to this republic. Kiev owes Moscow more than 204 Bn rubles for the oil already supplied.

Federation Provides Georgia Long-Term Credit

LD1101185394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Djibuti]

[Text] Moscow, January 11 (TASS)—A long-term credit of 10 billion rubles (about 8 million U.S. dollars) has been allocated by Russia to Georgia for 1994 to help survive its depressed economy, an official from the Georgian Embassy in Moscow told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday [11 January].

Moreover, as the republic has joined the Commonwealth of Independent States, additional technical credits for keeping functioning the Georgian metallurgic and mining industries are being considered, he said.

The same source reported that an agreement has been reached to plug in the Georgian power network to the united energy system of the southern Russia.

Yeltsin Edict on Legal Information Within CIS

PM1101134594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 5

["Edict of the Russian Federation President on Questions of Forming a Single Legal Information Area in the Commonwealth of Independent States," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 27 December 1993, No 2293]

[Text] In fulfillment of the Russian Federation president's edict of 19 October 1993 No 1665 "On Legal Information Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States," I decree:

1. That the following drafts are approved:

the draft Concept for Creating Within the Framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States an Intergovernmental System for the Provision of Legal Information presented by the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice, the Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member States, and the Russian Federation president's Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information and coordinated with the Russian Federation president's State-Legal Administration (appended);

the draft agreements on questions of legal information cooperation between the Russian Federation and CIS member states presented by the Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member States, the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice, and the Russian Federation president's Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information (appended).

The Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member States:

is to submit the aforementioned draft concept and draft agreements for examination by the CIS Coordinating and Consultative Committee;

is to hold talks with interested CIS member states, and also other states that were formerly USSR union republics on coordinating the draft Agreement on the Question of Legal Information Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and CIS Member States, allowing, if necessary, amendments and additions not of a fundamental nature to be made to the draft. When accord is reached, the Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member States is to sign the indicated Agreement on the Russian Federation's behalf.

2. The Russian Federation president's State-Legal Administration is charged with coordinating work in the Russian Federation on ensuring fulfillment of measures following from the edict of the Russian Federation president of 19 October 1993 No 1665, from the Concept for Creating Within the Framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States an Intergovernmental System for the Provision of Legal Information, and from the Agreement on the Question of Legal Information Cooperation Between the Russian Federation and CIS Member States.

With the aim of creating the necessary conditions for implementing the indicated measures and for systematic collaboration with the competent organs of Commonwealth member states, and also in order to fulfill tasks of monitoring the timely receipt of normative acts of Russian Federation components, the organization of their registration, storage, and systematization, and the issue of information on these acts in line with the Russian Federation president's edict of 12 May 1993 No 663 "On Measures Aimed at Creating a Single Standardized Legal Data Bank," the staff of the Russian Federation president's State Legal Administration is to be increased by 15 people.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 27 December 1993
No 2293

Note: The Draft Concept for Creating Within the Framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States an Intergovernmental System for the Provision of Legal Information and the other documents are not published.

Reinforcements Arrive in Serbian Krajina

LD1101184494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1037 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jan— The first of two trains with reinforcements for the personnel and combat hardware of the Russian "blue berets" battalion deployed in Serbian Krajina arrived today at the railway station of the town of Subotica. After the unloading of the hardware the detachment of Russian paratroops will go to the site of their deployment—the "Klisa" airfield near Osijek.

In the next few days the 900 soldiers and officers of the "Rusbat," which is guarding a 100-km stretch of the line separating the Serbs and Croats, will be reinforced by more than 300 extra Russian "blue berets." In addition to this reinforcement of personnel the battalion will have at its disposal several new armored carriers, anti-tank weapons and grenade launchers. The command calculates that this reinforcement will make it possible to lower the excessive load on the personnel who are manning 32 check- points around the clock. Meanwhile, the additional combat hardware will help to enhance the security of the Russian paratroops and forestall possible provocations and attacks. Incidentally, the Belgian battalion deployed in the same sector has already been equipped with the same types of weapons, while some national contingents of the UN forces even have tanks.

The situation in the zone for which the Russian battalion is responsible has become substantially more stable in recent months. This is explained not only by a certain easing of Serb-Croat relations but also by the skillful execution of their duties by the Russian soldiers and officers, constant contacts with the opposing sides, and efforts to prevent incidents.

Zhirinovskiy Assails French Proposal on Bosnia Air Strikes

LD1101202194 Paris TF-1 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] One more word on the NATO summit to say that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has denounced the French proposal on air strikes in Bosnia. In his tactful style, he described the proposal as being fascist. He said so in the Duma corridor today during the first session of the two chambers of the new parliament. Before it started its work, the Duma observed two minutes of silence in memory of the victims of the revolt of last October.

Says Mitterrand 'Senile'

MK1201110094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1

[SEGODNYA report: "Zhirinovskiy Continues To Remove Presidents"]

[Text] Talking to journalists in the Duma lobby, Mr. Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, who is known to be actively pressing to be elected to the position of chairman of the parliament's foreign affairs committee, suddenly turned to international subjects. He described as "absolute fascism" the joint French-British initiative on a forcible settlement of the conflict in former Yugoslavia. He thus spoke about one of its authors, the French president: "That Mitterrand of yours has grown senile. He will last another half a year; so near his end, he dreams up all sorts of little ideas."

The reaction by President Mitterrand and the French Foreign Ministry to this statement is yet unknown.

Interviewed on International Issues

TA1101142594 Ankara Show Television in Turkish 2005 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Report on an interview with Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by Cenk Baslamis in Moscow; date not given—recorded; Zhirinovskiy speaks in Turkish]

[Excerpts] [Baslamis] We first asked Zhirinovskiy how he assesses the election results.

[Zhirinovskiy] This was an unexpected victory. These results were, therefore, a shock to Russia as well as the world. They are auspicious results because the Russians are sick and tired of the communists and the democrats. We are tired of them. The people want a party with a different policy. The people want a different political direction. Our party is just like your Demirel's True Path Party [TPP]. There is the TPP slogan: The party is in the building and the future in the hands of the father. That is what has happened with us as well. The Russians want a different party and a different direction. That is why we were successful.

[Baslamis] [passage omitted] Zhirinovskiy has all the characteristics of an extreme Russian nationalist. He incessantly talks about the Russian Empire. While he claims that he will be reannexing the former Soviet republics to Russia, Zhirinovskiy is training his youths in special camps. His commandos are studying the history of the Russian Empire and practicing target shooting.

[Zhirinovskiy] I would like to state right now that we are working for peace. We do not want war. We do not want to occupy more territory. We want a mixed economy. We are not communists. We are not fascists. We are to the right of center. We are a centrist party. We are neither leftists nor rightists, we are centrists. That is what we are.

[Baslamis] No matter how strongly Zhirinovskiy claims to be a centrist, he is frightening everyone by hoisting the flag of extreme nationalism. The message that World War III is around the corner especially sends a chill up our spine. Zhirinovskiy claims to be misunderstood.

[Zhirinovskiy] At times I express the realities. I say what can occur. Certain people claim that I am expressing my wishes. What I am saying is that World War III is a possibility. I do not wish it but if the wars in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Asia continue; if something happens between Iran and Iraq; or if the Kurdish problem in Turkey expands, then World War III might occur. I do not want it but we are slowly approaching that eventuality.

[Baslamis] The following book is a best seller in Moscow. It is called *The Last Assault on the South* written by Zhirinovskiy. In this book, he recounts how he will rebuild the Russian Empire. A third of the book is devoted to Turkey. He has very interesting theses and scenarios concerning Turkey.

[Zhirinovskiy] If the war continues in the Caucasus, Turkey will definitely be involved in it.

[Baslamis] Together with the Azerbaijanis?

[Zhirinovskiy] Then there are the Kurds and the Armenians. It will be a complex issue. The Turks will side with the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds with the Armenians. Iran will be helping the Armenians and the Kurds. This region is exploding. On the western front Turkey will be facing both Bulgaria and Greece.

[Baslamis] In his book, Zhirinovskiy extensively talks about the Kurdish problem. What is interesting is that he claims that only Russia can solve this problem. He stresses that otherwise a Kurdish state will definitely be established. In his book he says: Pay attention to the Caucasus. The key is in the developments in that region.

[Zhirinovskiy] If the war in the Caucasus continues then the Armenians will occupy Azerbaijan and arm the Kurds who will, in turn, launch a big offensive in eastern Anatolia to establish a Kurdish state.

[Baslamis] On the one hand, Zhirinovskiy makes these claims and on the other he says that these are his simple predictions. He further claims that he does not intend to place Turkey in a difficult situation.

[Zhirinovskiy] This is only a thesis. This is not my wish. I love Turkey and the Turks. I am only expressing my views on what might happen. This is not my wish but it might happen.

[Baslamis] Despite Zhirinovskiy's claims to love Turkey, his love of Turks is doubtful. We do not know whether he is motivated by this love or not, but he refers to Turks at every opportunity in his book. How does he refer to the Turks? He describes them as barbaric and says that there is no such thing as Turkish culture. He adds: An unsheathed sword cannot be the basis for culture. What does Zhirinovskiy actually think about the Turks?

[Zhirinovskiy] Everything is all right in the current Turkey. The Turks, however, arrived five centuries ago on Byzantine territory as enemies. They were the real enemy. They were not invited by anyone. They were living around Tashkent. They decided that the bread and water in the region were insufficient and mounted their horses to see what there was in the west. They decided that they had the power to occupy the rich people living in peace in the west. What kind of behavior was that? Why did it happen? This is all written down in history. I say that this is not the fault of the current Turkish people. There is a different people now, five centuries have gone by since.

[Baslamis] Zhirinovskiy is one of those most disturbed by Turkey developing relations with the Central Asian republics. The visit of Turkish leaders to the Turkic republics is, according to Zhirinovskiy, extremely meaningless.

[Zhirinovskiy] Suleyman Demirel recently visited Ashgabat and other places. He met with Nazarbayev, the Kazakh president, and the presidents of Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan. He is gathering them around himself. This, of course, is viewed as strange in Russia. Why did Demirel visit our Central Asian republics? There are Russians living there. There is a Turkish speaking population but there is also a Russian speaking population.

[Baslamis] Zhirinovskiy is warning both Turkey and the Western countries against interference in Russia. Actually, his book's message can be summarized as follows: If you interfere with us you will regret it.

[Zhirinovskiy] This is not what the Russian people want. Let them interfere with another people. It can backfire. That is what I wrote. It can backfire. That is why I wrote this book. It is all written there, it is written on what will happen if this interference continues. If this policy is pursued then it will backfire. The Russians will advance up to the shores of the Indian Ocean. The Turkish Army advanced up to the shores of Constantinople once. The Russians will now advance up to the shores of the Indian Ocean.

[Baslamis] His extreme nationalism pushes him to open threats. How does Zhirinovskiy view Turkey, where he was detained some 25 years ago? What is his assessment of the political parties?

[Zhirinovskiy] I say that we are closer to ANAP [Motherland Party] and the TPP. You also have this religious party, the Prosperity Party. There are some similarities. We are, however, closer to the parties of Demirel and former president Turgut Ozal, namely ANAP.

[Baslamis] This is the kind of leader Zhirinovskiy is. Demagogue and crazy are a few of the mildest adjectives used in connection with Zhirinovskiy. What does he think about these adjectives?

[Zhirinovskiy] It is all propaganda. They [not further specified] also have such a center in Europe. They have one in our country as well. The Russian people are greatly influenced by my party. This kind of propaganda is being waged to counter this influence. According to the propaganda I am either a Zionist or an anti-Semite, either close to the communists or a fascist, either a racist or mad. They also claim that certain things happened to me in Turkey or that I wanted to live in Israel. This is all part of a scheme to reduce my influence on the Russian people. This is pure propaganda. This is a false weapon that has always been used in politics. They think that maybe the Russians will keep away from my party. The contrary is happening, however. That is why I am, in a way, happy. I am not the one, however, who is making this happen. This is the work of propaganda centers. It is also the work of my adversaries, the other parties opposed to me. It is, however, backfiring. I am, of course, quite happy with this outcome.

Interviewed on Italy

BR1201104194 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 12 Jan 94 p 13

[Interview with Russian Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow on 11 January: "Zhirinovskiy Says: 'Italy Like Andorra'"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—Just now that [Northern League leader] Umberto Bossi has relinquished plans to partition Italy, another political leader has appeared, determined to split our country into pieces, and to turn the small country that it is now into a tiny one—"like Andorra, for instance." There is no cause for immediate alarm because, since becoming the "moral" victor in the elections, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has been firing off in all directions, more for the sake of provocation than in earnest. But he cannot be ignored, because some day this man could become Russian president. Whatever fate awaits him, his moment of truth came yesterday, when he triumphantly entered the skyscraper that (for the present) houses the new parliament. It was an entry worthy of a rock star, rather than a politician, because only Madonna and Michael Jackson are granted such a reception. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Volfovich, I asked him, amid the throng, is what you told one Austrian newspaper true? Do you want Italy to cede the South Tyrol to Austria?

[Zhirinovskiy] Definitely. You wanted to break us up into pieces. Well, now you can taste some of your own medicine.

[Franceschini] Who do you mean by "you"?

[Zhirinovskiy] You Italians, you Europeans, you Westerners. You caused the Soviet Union to collapse, and it would serve you right to suffer the same fate and to see what it feels like. Thus, perhaps you will understand what Russia is experiencing now, without the 14 republics that have historically belonged to it. So, South Tyrol must go to Austria, Trieste can go to Yugoslavia, Sicily can go it alone, and so forth.

[Franceschini] But the Soviet Union was a vast and totalitarian empire. Italy is a small democratic country. Why do you want to break it up into pieces?

[Zhirinovskiy] You are small, but you must become even smaller. You must end up with an Italy as small as Andorra or Liechtenstein: Then you will understand!

[Franceschini] But in your opinion Russia should regain not only the former Soviet republics but also the former communist countries of Eastern Europe.

[Zhirinovskiy] Not at all. I say this to the countries of Eastern Europe: Stay neutral, free, and independent.

You do not need NATO at all. Why do you want to lick American and British generals' boots? You will never have anything to fear from Russia. Russia will never reach as far as Prague or Budapest.

[Franceschini] What about as far as Kiev? Are you in favor of taking away Ukraine's nuclear weapons?

[Zhirinovskiy] Definitely, yes. It must have all its missiles taken away, and Russia must have them back. No new nuclear powers must emerge in the world; there are already enough.

[Franceschini] So you agree on this with Yeltsin and Clinton. They are working well in the negotiations with Ukraine...

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, they are good fellows, but let them first get out of the way. It would be better.

[Franceschini] Will you be seeing Clinton during the Moscow summit?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am willing to meet with him, but he is afraid. I really do not know of what.

[Franceschini] Well, you have earned yourself a terrible reputation...

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, people say all kinds of things about me: The latest is that I am supposedly a KGB agent, and to think that I was never a CPSU member, have never been in prison or a mental hospital, I do not get drunk, I speak four languages, I have two degrees, I served my country faithfully in the Army, I have not run away to seek my fortune abroad, and I have never stolen a single ruble from anyone. Where can your Clinton find another Russian politician with a record like mine?

[Franceschini] But every second day you declare war on some foreign country or other...

[Zhirinovskiy] I am opposed to war; I am in favor of peace and of civilized coexistence between all the countries of the world. I do not threaten anyone, either in the South or in the West: We want relations of good cooperation with both Finland and Turkey, with both Afghanistan and Poland, but there are risks of war in the world, and they could increase if someone makes some wrong moves of the kind discussed by NATO in Brussels.

[Franceschini] Namely?

[Zhirinovskiy] Namely, the idea of waging war on Bosnia. Mitterrand's proposal to bomb the Bosnian cities is pure fascism, or evidence of senility. Mitterrand is evidently a crazy old man; he has not long left to live, and intends to bring the world to war. He is the warmonger, not I. Mitterrand, Major, Kohl, Clinton, the Japanese, the whole of G-7: They are to blame for the war in the Balkans. They hold a summit in Brussels, but the time will come for other summits at which people will be called to account for all these crimes.

[Franceschini] Some people expect your first proposal in Parliament to be an attack on Boris Yeltsin.

[Zhirinovskiy] Not at all. It will be a proposal for a general amnesty for all political crimes from 1985 to the present. That is, from the day Gorbachev came to power until the violent events of last October. The lengthy crisis and the changes of these difficult years have led to thousands of unjust sentences. Russia must bury its past at a stroke. It must look ahead. To the future. With me. Then it will succeed in rising up again.

Spokesmen Say Hekmatyar Flees Kabul

NC1201095094 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Unattributed commentary from "The World Today"]

[Text] The truce among the conflicting mojahedin forces in Kabul lasted only 36 minutes. The truce was signed so that the [words indistinct] could leave the city, where heavy fighting was taking place. Reports from the Afghan capital indicate that many Kabul residents also exploited the truce and thousands of people left their homes to save their lives.

Since the beginning of 1994 when the battles started, hundreds have been killed and thousands wounded. The battles in Kabul are among pro-Rabbani armed forces, a coalition of voluntary Afghan Uzbek forces led by General Dostam, and military groups led by Prime Minister Hekmatyar. The [words indistinct] is that the national majority of the [words indistinct] are Tajiks. There were [words indistinct] on this before. [Word indistinct] that observers say that in the past, after Marxist rule, Afghan society faced more [word indistinct] ethnic differences, but these differences have now been transformed into an overt conflict.

General Dostam was a member of the central committee of the former ruling party in Afghanistan during Najibollah's rule and was the sworn enemy of Hekmatyar, who is a Pushtun nationalist and fundamentalist. Hekmatyar called Dostam a communist and [words indistinct] the radical Marxist regime in Kabul.

[Words indistinct] the coalition forces tried to infiltrate [name indistinct] region along Kabul river in the northeast of the city. Earlier, forces loyal to the president forced Dostam's men out of this area. The two sides used the air force several times. Dostam's aircraft heavily bombed the presidential palace and Kabul television. Bomber jets loyal to the president bombed the Bala Hesar stronghold of Dostam's forces and areas around the [word indistinct].

Due to the chaos in Kabul and the absence of contacts, no reports have been received on the number of casualties, but it is clear the number is high. The whereabouts of the head of the Afghan Government are not clear. Some say he remains in the presidential palace, but Hekmatyar's spokesmen say he has fled Kabul.

UN representatives in Pakistan are continuing their efforts to reconcile the belligerent forces.

Relations With PRC Foreign Policy 'Priority'

LD1101200194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1943 GMT 11 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—After a "break-through" visit of the Russian president to China, Russia started a dynamic broad partnership with Beijing both on the international scene and in bilateral relations; China is a priority of the Russian foreign policy, Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Panov told an exclusive ITAR-TASS interview here today.

Panov was nominated to his post on December 30, 1993.

In his words, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is expected to visit China in late January to discuss preparations for a Moscow visit of the Chinese leader.

Russian relations with China same as with Japan "should not be a sensation but a norm; they should be relations of normal neighbours - two great powers," which interact in each other's interests, in the interests of the region and the whole world, said the official.

In the opinion of Panov, it is symbolic that 1994 starts for Russia with a visit of the U.S. President and a Chinese trip of the Russian foreign minister. Being different, these visits prove the well-balanced Russian foreign policy equally oriented to the west and to the east.

Russia has broad possibilities of cooperation with China, said Panov. Russia has not fully studied Chinese economic transformations to use them in domestic conditions, especially in the area of special economic zones. This idea is being considered in Russia, but China has done it more swiftly and the zones have boosted Chinese economic development.

The two countries are holding border negotiations. In his opinion, pronouncements of some politicians, especially in the Far East, claiming Russia is making unilateral unjustified concessions to Beijing are ungrounded. All the concessions are bilateral and mutual.

As for military cooperation, Russia and China are discussing the reduction of their armed forces in the border area. The negotiations "are not a sensation as it is clear no military preparations are underway or even possible on the borders, which increasingly become friendship frontiers".

Russian-Chinese trade is mutually beneficial and does not infringe Russian economic interests. It will constantly expand. The official called for informing the public of all aspects of the Russian-Chinese relations. In his opinion, the January Beijing visit of the Russian foreign minister will do a lot of good in this respect.

Sakhalin Court's 'Leniency' to Japanese Poachers Challenged

PM1101163194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Five Japanese Captains Convicted in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk"]

[Text] The scandal between Moscow and Tokyo over the detained Japanese fishing boat Yunimaru and its captain Keiichi Noto, who was wounded by Russian naval border guards, is flaring up with renewed force.

About a month ago (see IZVESTIYA issue No. 233) our border guards entered the South Kurils Gulf—Russian territorial waters—where they intercepted a Japanese schooner which had been fishing for crabs. During the attempt to detain the poachers the latter offered armed resistance. The border guards commander gave the order to open fire. Captain Noto received slight wounds and the crew members raised their hands in surrender.

The Japanese press considered the Russian border guards' actions a national insult. The newspapers are demanding the immediate return of the captain, the trawler, and the crew. The Japanese are particularly incensed at the fact that the shooting happened in a zone which they regard as their own territorial waters.

"Such logic is categorically unacceptable to us," Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, told IZVESTIYA. "The waters around the South Kurils belong to Russia, and Russian laws apply to them."

Meanwhile in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk the simultaneous trial of the captains of five Japanese fishing vessels detained while fishing illegally in Russian territorial waters has ended. The border violators have been ordered to pay a total fine of 20,000 dollars and 400,000 rubles. Four of the captains have been given two-year suspended sentences; only one of them will be spending six months in a Russian jail.

The prosecutor has protested against the Yuzhno-Kurilskiy Rayon Court decision and expressed indignation at the "unjustified leniency of the sentence." The case has been sent for reexamination at a higher judicial level.

Prof. Kamil Bekyashev, a specialist in the sphere of international maritime law, believes that the Russian prosecutor has grounds for appealing against the court's ruling. Under our laws people found guilty of poaching especially valuable species of fish and in large quantities are supposed to be deprived of their liberty for up to four years. A suspended sentence is not allowed.

"We believe," Grigoriy Karasin stressed, "that poaching not only damages the fish stocks of the South Kurils Gulf but also has an adverse effect on the whole range of Russian-Japanese relations, and that includes the negotiations on a peace treaty. Border troops will be guided by the laws on Russia's state border and on the economic zone."

The number of violations of Russia's maritime border by Japanese boats engaged in poaching in this area is not diminishing. According to Foreign Ministry figures there were 7,558 such violations in 1991, 7,932 in 1992, and 7,690 in 1993.

Naval Maneuvers With Kuwait Had 'Anti-Iraqi Complexion'

PM1101141794 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Vladimir Belyakov report: "All Eggs in One Basket"]

[Text] Cairo, 10 Jan—Evaluating the recently ended 10-day joint Kuwaiti-Russian naval maneuvers held within the framework of the agreement on military cooperation between the two countries signed in Moscow at the end of November, a spokesman for the Kuwaiti Ministry of Defense described them as "excellent."

It would be possible to welcome Russia's contribution to ensuring Kuwait's security. But there is the troubling fact that Russian-Kuwaiti military cooperation has begun before the normalization of relations between Kuwait and Iraq and so inevitably acquires an anti-Iraqi complexion. The door to cooperation with Iraq—a rich and influential state with which we used to be linked by very close ties—has thereby essentially been slammed shut. In such a situation it is hardly rational, as our new friends, the Americans, say, to put all our eggs in one basket.

U.S. Seen Contemplating Pressure on IMF on Country's Behalf

MK1101134094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Mikhail Shchipanov report under the "Our Commentary" rubric: "They Still Do Not Give Us the Money"]

[Text] It seems that chiefs of the IMF are in fact trying to deflect any accusations that it was its unreasonably tight policy with regard to Russia that contributed to the Russian extremists' parliamentary breakthrough. It is well known that an aggressive attack is the best defense. Well. The IMF has announced in its attacking style that it was not going to release the second part of its long-promised loan to Russia. The first $1.5 billion was given to us on fairly beneficial terms as early as last summer. It was expected that after a pause, approximately by January 1994, the Russians will get the remaining half as well. U.S. Vice President Albert Gore added fuel to the fire when he took international experts to task while in Moscow for their short-sighted rigidity in imposing the IMF's economic recipes on the Kremlin. It seemed that the IMF had no other choice given that the United States itself holds a dominant position in the fund. But the fund men have shown their mettle.

They continue to set those same conditions for carrying out reform by the Russian authorities. As if there were no fear following the breakthrough of V.V. Zh. [Vladimir Zhirinovskiy] and his ilk. The IMF is not going to compromise its principles in an apparent belief that there are enduring economic values. Fund experts are not content with the Russian Government's commitment to subsidize staple foodstuffs and energy resources. This is why the money will not come to Russia until it fulfills the established standards for putting brakes on inflation and cutting the budget deficit. Our official economists have repeatedly promised yet more budget "breakthroughs" in the past few months and cheered those who so wished with optimistic figures about decreasing inflation. Apparently, neither Fedorov nor Shokhin were taken at their word as the fund preferred to continue to exert pressure.

It is another matter that the fund may come under renewed American pressure following Clinton's visit. The Yankees account for the bulk of contributions to the IMF budget and are inclined to make the fund the main channel for infusing at least some Western assistance into Russia. Hence, even the IMF's professed resolve looks as if it were a direct threat to Clinton's course toward propping up Russia's volatile democracy. So, Washington and the IMF may reach a gentleman's agreement in the near future—unfortunately, delays may amount to a few months—whereby U.S. officials will no longer question the wisdom of fund experts (at least in public), and the IMF will finally agree to release the remaining part of the $3-billion loan to us.

IMF Calls For 'Tough Budget Restrictions' in Russia

PM1201111794 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 3

[Igor Barsukov report: "IMF: 'Budget Restrictions Are Needed'"]

[Text] Washington—The IMF and the World Bank, which have published a memorandum on policy toward Russia, have called on the Russian leadership to pursue the reforms without slowing down the pace.

The country's current economic misfortunes are caused by the collapse of the former system rather than by the government's measures for transition to a market economy, the document says. Therefore, instead of slowing down the pace of reforms, Russia ought to accelerate the implementation of reforms with a view to reducing the period of slump in production and decline of the population's living standards.

In this memorandum, perceived by local observers as a response to criticism of the two international financial organizations' policy toward Russia, the IMF and the World Bank have emphasized that, in order to reduce its budget deficit and curb inflation, Russia needs to introduce "tough budget restrictions" on the financing of state enterprises. It would also be worth the Russian leadership's while to step up its efforts in the sphere of privatization, extending it to the power industry and the military production sphere. Unemployment will rise as a result of the closure of inefficient enterprises. But this problem must be solved via the creation of a social security system and not by subsidizing food and energy prices for the country's entire population, the document says.

Citing the fact that Russia is insufficiently active in implementing the measures to curb inflation and reduce the budget deficit, defined by it jointly with the IMF, the Fund's leadership will refrain from granting it the second half of the credit line from the system transformation fund, amounting to $1.5 billion.

Political Issues

Shokhin Criticizes Government Restructuring Plan

LD1101174894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, who also belongs to the Party of Russian Unity and Concords faction in the State Duma, says he is unhappy over the presidential decree on federal government restructuring Yeltsin signed on Monday [10 January]. Some of its points are ill-thought, Shokhin told Interfax.

He described as ill-conceived the decision to scrap the post of Vice Premier for trade cooperation with CIS states given that they introduced similar posts following Moscow's suit. Shokhin says this is a sudden diversion from the scheme that Russia has itself introduced.

Attempts to try to saddle the First Vice Premier with that duty in addition to his responsibility for areas of the economy, finances and other macroeconomic matters is tantamount to pushing CIS cooperation into the background which is unacceptable, he said.

Shokhin said that though the Vice Premiers were at odds about the pace of CIS integration, the possibility of letting Yeltsin and his Prime Minister know about them would no longer exist.

Nor is it clear, he said, why the Russian agency for international cooperation and development is to be merged with the ministry for foreign economic relations as a government body. Shokhin said he would seek the repeal of the decree's point on the agency and a new resolution on that body designed to attract foreign investment.

He does not rule out being offered a Vice Premiership for agrarian or social matters in the new government. However, he says Aleksandr Zaveryukha, Yuriy Yarov, Yegor Gaydar and Oleg Soskovets responsible for agriculture, social security, economics and industry respectively may retain their jobs.

Shokhin believes other changes may take place if First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko fails to be elected as Speaker of the Federation Council, the upper house of parliament.

It is most likely that new appointments will announced piecemeal rather than in a matter of one day, he said.

Border Guard Top Body Acquires Ministry Status

PM1101165594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

["Topical Commentary" by military observer Vladimir Klimov: "Ministry's Green Shoulder Boards"]

[Text] Border guards have always been the people's blue-eyed boys. I have not seen a single movie or read a single book that has been disparaging about the guys in green service caps. I have not heard them being accused of links with the criminal world, of cruelty, of bullying.... Even when the KGB was being abused, they did not touch the border guards, although structurally they came under the committee.

The nationwide esteem for them is understandable: The guys protect the fatherland's borders, the threshold of our home. Relations in military collectives there are always normal because the border guards fulfill a combat task even in peacetime. The service is specific, and they shoulder a tremendous responsibility. Their independence was virtually predetermined. They have secured it: An edict of the Russian Federation president has created the Federal Border Service [FBS]-High Command of the Border Troops with the rights of a federal ministry. It is headed by the commander in chief of the Border Troops. He is Colonel General Andrey Ivanovich Nikolayev.

Much is demanded of him to whom much is given. The FBS-High Command directs the official combat, operational, financial-economic, and other activities of the Border Troops. Not all the former links are being broken. The Federal Counterintelligence Service is the coordinating organ for border guards in questions of operational-investigative activity. The previously developed system of supply and material-technical backup for both services is not being destroyed either.

As previously, the border guards' tasks are immense and on a par with Russia's expanses.

The new ministry's functions are largely traditional, but new responsibilities have also appeared—for example, participation in the fulfillment of federal programs for ensuring the safety of the individual. The FBS will live not only for the present day. On the basis of long-term forecasts of the development of the operational situation on the border the service elaborates the concept of its protection, conducts long-term planning, and organizes information-analytical activity.

Operational-investigative activity and the ensuring of one's own safety will require extensive specialized knowledge and painstaking work. Without going into details, I will single out just one of the points of interest to the reader at large: Henceforth the FBS organizes the conclusion of contracts on the performance of military service by border guards.

Further. In the edict I have counted 27 points directly concerning the commander in chief. Incidentally, each of the tasks set before him may be broken down into hundreds more. So Gen. Andrey Nikolayev's categorical response to my request for an interview became clear to me: "It is not necessary to comment on the edict but to carry it out...."

Emergency Committee Redesignated as Ministry

LD1101194694 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] In accordance with the decree "On the structure of the federal bodies of executive authority," signed by the Russian president, the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations has been redesignated as a ministry. This has been reported by ITAR- TASS.

According to the new structure of the federal bodies of executive authority, that department is assigned to the block of power ministries.

The former committee's press service has said that from today the functions of the abolished committee for the social support of citizens and the rehabilitation of territories that have suffered from Chernobyl and other radiation catastrophes have been transferred to the new ministry, as well as the functions of the committee for carrying out special-purpose under-water work. Also transferred to the ministry as a state institution is the Russian Federal Aerospace Search and Rescue Service.

Gaydar Said Asked To Remain in Government

LD1101221094

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1815 GMT on 11 January broadcasts in its "Details" program a feature by Sergey Dorenko, in which he reviews past relations between the Russian president, government, and parliament and looks at possible future developments.

The program includes recorded remarks from an interview with Yegor Gaydar by Dorenko; the place and date of the interview are not given.

Gaydar says: "The prime minister has consulted me regarding proposals on reorganizing the government. Both the president and the prime minister have asked me to stay in a new and reorganized government. I know certain ideas and alternatives that have been formulated in this area." Gaydar refuses to divulge any details.

Dorenko then mentions that Gaydar's most recent meeting with Yeltsin took place on 31 December, and asks Gaydar whether he will be held responsible for somebody else's decisions. Gaydar replies: "A situation, the ongoing situation, when someone else is making decisions for which we have to bear responsibility is absolutely intolerable to us. If, for instance, a decision is taken against the will and position of our like-minded colleagues... [pauses] I will fight to keep our monetary and financial policy fairly consistent and will oppose irresponsible decisions. I will fight to prevent some members of the Cabinet, who are good guys, from making empty and irresponsible promises while other members of the cabinet, the bad guys, have to explain later why these promises could not be kept."

Dorenko concludes the program by saying that power in Russia remains shrouded in secrecy, that is why his program contains so many conjectures and too few facts.

Foreign Ministry Personnel, Envoys Reshuffled

PM1101154794 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 7

[Article by Yelena Ovcharenko and Leonid Timofeyev under the "Ambassadorial Rumors" rubric: "How Diplomats Are Packaged"]

[Text] The resignation request from Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin was submitted to President Yeltsin even before the New Year holiday. The reason for this was his election to the State Duma as a representative of the Yabloko bloc.

And he will be replaced as deputy minister by the current Russian ambassador to Spain, Igor Ivanov. He is well-known in the Foreign Ministry, as he headed that department's general secretariat for a long time.

An additional two ambassadors will occupy offices in the skyscraper on Smolensk Square. They are Aleksandr Panov, ambassador to South Korea; and Albert Chernyshev, who has represented Russia in Turkey for six years now.

The Russian Foreign Ministry has made it known that all these reshuffles are of planned nature and are in line with the principle of staff rotation. They do not hide their satisfaction there that leading posts will be occupied by career diplomats.

The fate of the ambassador in London, Boris Pankin, will probably be different. For the time being he remains there, but the decision to replace him was made long ago.

According to our information, the Tetrapak company, which intends to pool its efforts in the near future with the French company, Alfa-Laval, on learning that Boris Pankin was about to leave his post, immediately offered him a job as a consultant in "any country" of his choice. He has supposedly opted for Sweden, where, we remind you, he was once ambassador. Tetrapak produces packaging, including cartons for milk.

Some are moving into commerce, others returning to big-time politics. When we rang Washington, [Ambassador] Vladimir Petrovich Lukin was upbeat. In masterly fashion he parried our probing question, "Is it true that you are down to be deputy speaker?" "I am ready for anything? Let's see when we get there. Incidentally, the job is not that attractive, it's pure anxiety and turmoil, particularly if they decide to turn the speaker into a lightning rod." Vladimir Petrovich said. "I don't envy the speaker—he will have a tough job."

While observing that he knew several suitable people who could occupy the vacant ambassadorial posts, Lukin was reluctant to give their names so as to avoid, as we understood it, inadvertently doing them an ill turn. On the other hand, he gladly told us about the attributes which they, according to the diplomat, should possess. In Washington he would like to see someone with considerable experience and knowledge of both the language and the country.

The Washington Embassy throughtout has been a source of alternative information for the president, the government, and the Foreign Ministry. A valuable quality for those who know how to avoid being in thrall to "convenient" assessments.

Possible Vice Premier Appointments Viewed

PM1201110794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Article by journalist Irina Alekseyeva: "Four Vice Premiers in New Government. Whom Will the Premier Invite?"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin recently signed an edict on the structure of the organs of executive power. The document provides for the presence of four vice premiers in the Cabinet of Ministers, two of whom should be first vice premiers. Viktor Chernomyrdin must give their names within a week.

Obviously the premier will choose the new vice premiers from the nine who are already working now. Here he will have to be guided not only by his personal sympathies and antipathies but also by the disposition of political forces and the results of the elections to the State Duma. Government analysts, who have already run through many options, believe that it is to Chernomyrdin's advantage to set out his game of cadres patience in such a way that he himself is in the center and can thus strengthen his own positions. Otherwise, if a homogenous government is formed the premier runs the risk of coming under fire from the criticism of the offended side. So that to all appearances no radical changes in the government are predicted.

The main question is who will occupy the first four seats in the government, or rather the two first seats and the two second seats?

Obviously Oleg Soskovets will not be competing. Today, too, he is the first among the first three vice premiers (Soskovets, Gaydar, and Shumeyko). Chernomyrdin left him "in charge" when he went on vacation.

Oleg Nikolayevich's staying power is explained by the fact that it is he who in the government symbolizes the large army of industrialists and state officials. It will not be without interest also to recall the fact that Mr. Soskovets, who had been about to run as a deputy, withdrew his candidacy at the height of the election campaign. It is entirely possible that even then the premier had guaranteed him a leading place in the new government.

By analogy with Soskovets, the premier will obviously leave Aleksandr Zaveryukha among the four vice premiers as well. Behind him there is a large and influential Duma faction of agricultural experts and the Cabinet of Ministers leader cannot disregard him. Through Zaveryukha the premier will be able to influence not only the agricultural experts but also some of the Communists close in spirit to the collective farms' champion. Actually, regarding this candidacy, Viktor Stepanovich will probably not have to go through any internal struggles: The premier's sympathies toward Mr. Zaveryukha can be felt quite clearly.

You cannot confidently say the same about Chernomyrdin's attitude toward Gaydar. But the premier will hardly dare not to leave the young father of the Russian reforms and the leader of the largest duma factions among his vice premiers. Moreover Gaydar is a very convenient figure who can be blamed for all blunders in the work of the cabinet of ministers. You only have to use the standard and uncomplicated formula: "The reforms are proceeding somewhere in the wrong direction..."—and everyone will immediately understand that Gaydar is to blame.

And who will be the fourth? Probably not Shumeyko. It is even more likely that Shakhray will not be the fourth. The elections showed that there are not substantial enough forces behind the party that he conceived.

Probably the fourth could in theory be Anatoliy Chubays, were it not for the powerful and vigorous figure of Boris Fedorov. Much now depends on Fedorov. No one can any longer hold the budget together—even Chernomyrdin probably understands that now. Removing Fedorov would mean getting hyperinflation within three months.

But there is a suggestion that even Fedorov could be bypassed. And by none other than the present vice premier Yuriy Yarov, a politician distinguished mostly for the fact that he is the only vice premier who has not managed to distinguish himself by any action or if worst comes to worst by any statement for the press. Having such a vice premier to hand would be far more peaceful for Chernomyrdin than having the irrepressible Fedorov. By an irony of fate Mr. Yarov entered the Duma on the "Russia's Choice" list so that party formalities will be observed if he should be appointed.

Who will Chernomyrdin appoint as his second "first vice premier?" Most likely Gaydar—the leader of the "Russia's Choice" movement.

Actually, it is not out of the question that the matter may end most unexpectedly. It is no accident that one high-ranking government official who wishes to remain anonymous stated in a talk with your correspondent: "If a government that does not suit the reformers is proposed, we shall not stay here as whipping boys."

First National Security Adviser Interviewed

MK1101122094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Yuriy Baturin, the Russian president's national security adviser, by Andrey Poleshchuk in the "Power" column: "Yuriy Baturin: 'I Have Been Taught Not To Be Afraid of Difficult Problems.' On Christmas Eve He Was Appointed the Russian President's First National Security Adviser"]

[Excerpts] [Poleshchuk] People in this country have grown accustomed to frequent cadre reshuffles and structural changes in the upper echelons of power. Still, the introduction of the post of the Russian president's national security adviser has come as a great surprise. If only because, if I am not mistaken, there has not been the slightest leak of information about the upcoming event, although such leaks have become almost commonplace recently. Was it a surprise to you also?

[Baturin] Yes, it was a total surprise to me.

[Poleshchuk] You did not undertake any efforts along these lines?

[Baturin] It had never even occurred to me to work in this direction. And, as you have stated quite correctly, there have been no leaks. I did not know anything about it. This obviously suggests that the decision has been made either by the president himself or that he has discussed this matter with an extremely narrow circle of people. [passage omitted]

[Poleshchuk] Was it a coincidence that a decision to introduce the post of national security adviser was made on the eve of President Clinton's visit to Moscow? Is there not some hidden implication, some "second trunk bottom" here?

[Baturin] I cannot respond to this question for reasons I have already explained. But I think that indirectly this could have produced an impact. In recent days Boris Nikolayevich has been making very thorough preparations for the meeting with President Clinton. And apparently he has been constantly mindful of such an efficient U.S. state structure. In other words, this factor could be seen as a general background. But again, this is merely supposition. It is not worth trying to guess at what the president thinks. It is better simply to ask him.

[Poleshchuk] Have you been actively involved in preparing the meeting with the U.S. President?

[Baturin] No, I would say that the president has an aide on international affairs, Dmitriy Ryurikov, who has been long and thoroughly preparing this meeting. At this point perhaps I could join in. But then too little time has passed since my appointment to get engaged in this work. [passage omitted]

[Poleshchuk] How would you respond to this statement: The post of the national security adviser is extremely necessary for the country's leadership today amid the dramatic reforms in the power departments, in particular the Security Ministry? The president needs an absolutely trustworthy man who will oversee the power ministries....

[Baturin] This reasoning is quite rational. And such ideas have long been expressed to the president, for instance in the course of his meetings with Presidential Council members. As far as I could see, the president listened to all of that but showed no reaction—either positive or negative. At least, in my presence. [passage omitted]

[Poleshchuk] And with respect to your personal contacts with the "power ministers," are you familiar with them? Have you had any contacts? Have you been in conflict?

[Baturin] I had not met Nikolay Mikhaylovich Golushko (head of the Federal Counterintelligence Service—A. P.) until last August. I first saw him at close quarters during a session of the Security Council's interdepartmental commission where I was present as a presidential aide. Then there were a few casual meetings in the corridors without any conversations. The same goes for Stepashin (Golushko's first deputy—A. P.). I first had a detailed talk with him at the end of December, when the president tasked me to take part in preparing a statute on the Federal Counterintelligence Service. I have known Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov (director of the Foreign Intelligence Service—A. P.) since the end of the 80's. After all, he also comes from the academic world but he belonged to another weight category and we had no close contacts. I had an exhaustive conversation with Colonel General Andrey Ivanovich Nikolayev (commander in chief of the Russian border troops—A. P.) after my appointment. Incidentally, many were wondering whether he would be able to command the border guards. I would say that as chief of the border service he has produced a very favorable impression on me. Just like Golushko, I have met Viktor Fedorovich Yerin (internal affairs minister—A. P.) only at various sessions. We were not closely familiar.

[Poleshchuk] A new post apparently presupposes the existence of a national security concept....

[Baturin] The concept has been there and it continues to be developed. Now there is a law on security: It was elaborated on the basis of a certain security concept. The law was adopted but work on the concept has not stopped: It must change all the time to keep in tune with the changing conditions. And conditions today are changing very fast.

[Poleshchuk] But will a readable text be finally produced?

[Baturin] I think so. At any rate, this was done in the Security Council. Of course, now I shall be taking part in this. And apparently I will somehow influence the content of this concept.

[Poleshchuk] Does the introduction of the post of national security adviser mean that he automatically becomes head of the Security Council?

[Baturin] No.

[Poleshchuk] Up to now the question about adopting a concept on the Federal Counterintelligence Service remains open, although according to some reports, the text of the document was ready by the day of President Yeltsin's 21 December 1993 edict abolishing the Russian Federation Security Ministry. When, in your opinion, should the concept's approval be expected?

[Baturin] I am afraid that you are in a little hurry here. The adoption of the Statue on the Federal Counterintelligence Service is a kind of foundation. But still there is a lot that remains to be done there. It is also necessary to carry through the reforms. The options are as follows. Either this concept existed before and is now being implemented, but I do not think that this is the best hypothesis. Or the building of the Federal Counterintelligence Service began not according to a detailed plan but according to a general outline proposed by someone. In this case this work must be finalized as soon as possible. Because a gap in reforms at the center and at the local level can be very dangerous. And once the entire framework of the Federal Counterintelligence Service has become clear and obvious, then we can see how good and effective is the concept which existed either in full or as a general outline. And then improve on it. I think that this version more corresponds to the truth. [passage omitted]

[Poleshchuk] You are known as one of the main architects of a large number of documents defining Russia's present development. How do you envision the country's immediate future? What would you say to those who say that Russia is consistently moving toward tough authoritarian rule?

[Baturin] Indeed, this is so. The adopted constitution provides for a model of tough authority. But the strength and toughness of authority lies not only and not so much in the model that exists in the constitution, in the minds or in public consciousness. It is also in how far the plans and decisions of this authority can be implemented. And many decisions—I mean not only those by the president but also the government and the former Supreme Soviet—were not obeyed. And this fact strongly undermines the version about dictatorship and a tough authoritarian hand. But the historical movement, the trend.... Quite naturally, after the pendulum has swung toward democratization to such an extent when it began to verge on anarchy, it has swung to the other side. But the pendulum will not freeze at this point and will soon start moving back. There is much of what is dangerous and unpleasant but there is nothing fatally terrible. [passage omitted]

More on Counterintelligence Service Press Conference

PM1101135994 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[Vladimir Zaynetdinov report: "Can You Count on a Counterspy? Russian Special Service Leaders Go Public"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin signed the "Statute on the Russian Federation Federal Counterintelligence Service" on 5 January. The new special service did not keep journalists in an agony of suspense but held a press conference straight after the Orthodox Christmas holiday.

It was stated at the press conference that Russia's Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] is the legal successor to the Security Ministry but is in no way "a clone of the disbanded ministry since it is a...special service" (and what was it, then, we had before?). The FCS' main mission is to detect, prevent, or stop intelligence and subversive activity directed against Russia by foreign special services and organizations; to combat terrorism, the illegal trade in drugs and weapons, and illegal armed formations; and to ensure the day-to-day protection of Russia's state border.

Twenty foreign spies were caught red-handed in Russia last year. Several state officials recruited by foreign special services have been dismissed from their posts on the submission of the former Security Ministry's counterintelligence service.

The reorganization of the Security Ministry and the creation of the FCS is in full swing: Among other things, the former Security Ministry's investigation administration has been transferred to the General Prosecutor's Office and the Lefortovo detention center transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs; certain special operations subunits have moved to the Federal Government Communications and Information Agency; and the fight against organized crime and racketeering (apart from corruption in the top echelons of power) has been handed over completely to the militia. On the other hand the Alfa and Vympel special antiterrorist subunits remain part of the president's Main Protection Administration. As FCS First Deputy Director Sergey Stepashin stated, "the preconditions for political investigation to arise have been completely eliminated." However, he did advocate the creation of an internal intelligence service (and is that not the same thing?).

The FCS' strength will, compared with the Security Ministry, decrease by 46 percent and amount to no more than 75,000 staffers countrywide. However, there will be no cuts in counterintelligence operational subunits, which are under strength. All the special service reforms will be completed within one month of the statute being signed.

According to Sergey Stepashin, the special assessment commission now operating in the FCS will carry out the reassessment of cadres within one month. The central apparatus will be slimmed down from 3,500 to 1,500 persons.

As Sergey Stepashin observed, President Yeltsin in a conversation with him, drew attention to the fact that there have been no purges whatsoever in the process of reorganization and cadre selection has been carried out on the basis of qualities such as professionalism and loyal service to the fatherland and the state. As far as staffers who fail the assessment are concerned, they will not, as Sergey Stepashin stated, find themselves without a job but will be able to transfer to the Internal Affairs Ministry, the tax police, or the General Prosecutor's Office.

Reorganization Viewed

PM1101140994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[Viktor Kharlamov report: "The President Will Control Counterintelligence"]

[Text] At his meeting with journalists yesterday, Sergey Stepashin described the Russian president's edict abolishing the Russian Federation Ministry of Security as an "expected surprise." But in a private conversation with me an acquaintance of mine, an employee of the abolished ministry, provided a different description of this edict—"a taming of shrews."

Who, then, will take the place of the former Ministry of Security? To all appearances, Russia's Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS], directly subordinate to the president, will now become "the motherland's shield." In addition to combating foreign special services, it is also entrusted with functions such as combating terrorism, illegal arms trafficking, the drug mafia, and armed bandit formations. Economic and military counterintelligence remains under the FCS wing.

The investigative apparatus passes to the Russian General Prosecutor's Office, special subunits pass to the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information and the Main Administration of the President's Guard, while the notorious "Lefortovo" passes to the jurisdiction of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

The Russian Federation Border Guard Troops have also been detached and transformed into the independent Federal Border Service with the rights of a separate ministry.

The staff of the counterintelligence organs has been reduced—to 75,000 employees in the provinces and 1,500 in the management apparatus. In the opinion of Sergey Stepashin, first deputy director of the FCS, such a reorganization will not affect the quality of the special services' work. But those who wish to stay will have to undergo recertification at the president's request, which will drag on for approximately one month.

The question of the transfer of the "Alfa" and "Vympel" subunits to the FCS has not yet been raised, but, bearing in mind the struggle against terrorism, the counterintelligence service will still have to acquire its own special-purpose subunit.

The Main Administration of the President's Guard and the MVD, which is increasingly turning into a supermonster like the sadly memorable GPU-NKVD [State Political Administration-People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs], will most likely tackle "internal intelligence" or, roughly speaking, political surveillance of the opposition and of political parties.

There is another "expected surprise." Yuriy Baturin was appointed the Russian president's assistant for national security. He seems to be becoming one of the most influential figures in Boris Yeltsin's entourage as controller of all the country's power structures.

FCS' Stepashin Grants Interview

PM1201092594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Sergey Stepashin, first deputy director of the Federal Counterintelligence Service, by Boris Sopelnyak; place and date not given: "Things Will Get No Easier for Spies"]

[Text] [Sopelnyak] The time that the president set aside for elaborating the statute on the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS] has expired. What has this period been like for you? Have the former Security Ministry apparatus and its directorates been working or have they all been waiting for the decision on their fate? Have things become easier for terrorists, the corrupt, spies, and other of your "clients"? After all, for almost three weeks there have been just two officials at the Federal Counterintelligence Service—the director of the new service and yourself.

[Stepashin] As is well-known, during this period B.N. Yeltsin signed three edicts relating to our service—two open edicts and one classified edict. I had a personal meeting with the president lasting more than an hour on 5 January. That meeting resulted in the signing of the edict setting up the FCS.

To be frank, there was a certain element of panic among my colleagues—after all, they are all waiting for recertification of their jobs. But we reassured people that there would be no purge and that those who fail to come through the recertification could resign or be dismissed but would not be left jobless—some would go to the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], others to the Prosecutor's Office, others to the Tax Police, and so forth. Foreign special services have not relaxed their efforts during this period, our former brothers from the Baltic and Georgia are making their presence felt, corruption is still prevalent, and terrorists have been active. So we have no time to sigh and feel sorry for ourselves—we have to do our job. Twenty people have been arrested for espionage alone, and several dozen such cases are in the pipeline. The entire country was shaken by the abduction of the Rostov schoolchildren. The highly complex operation to free them was carried out brilliantly and, most important, without a single drop of blood being shed—our operatives definitely deserve praise for that.

[Sopelnyak] At a 10 January press conference you said that the edict of 21 December last year was an expected surprise. What do you mean by that? Or did you have wind that an edict to abolish the Security Ministry was in the offing?

[Stepashin] Of course, I knew nothing about it. But I realized that our department needed radical restructuring and that we were often doing things that were alien to the security service. So the edict was timely.

[Sopelnyak] You were given two weeks to draw up the statute on the FCS. Is this document ready, and, if so, could you comment on its main points?

[Stepashin] As far as the statute on the FCS is concerned, it is ready and has been ratified by the Russian president.

The Russian Federation FCS is a central federal executive organ. Its mission includes the exposure, prevention, and curtailment of subversive intelligence activity by foreign special services and organizations, and of illegal attacks on Russia's constitutional system, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and defense capability. In its activity the FCS should be guided by the Constitution, laws, and other legal acts issued by organs of state power, as well as by international treaties.

[Sopelnyak] To whom will the FCS be subordinate—the Federal Assembly, the government, or the president?

[Stepashin] The president. And to him directly, rather than any intermediate authorities.

[Sopelnyak] Does that mean that your assignments will be set by the president?

[Stepashin] Our assignments, as I have already said, are defined by the Constitution, laws, and the statute on the FCS. Our main mission is to obtain intelligence information on threats to Russia's security; to combat terrorism, illegal armed formations, and illegally created or prohibited associations attacking Russia's constitutional system; to expose, prevent, and curtail subversive intelligence activity by foreign special services against our country; to safeguard the security of state secrets and, of course, to provide the president with information on threats to the Russian Federation's security.

[Sopelnyak] That is a lot of assignments, and you will need people to carry them out. At the same time, the president's edict states that the size of the FCS' administrative apparatus should not exceed 1,500 people, and the total number of service and civilian personnel has been set at 75,000. We know another figure, too—the number of FCS staffers will be 46 percent fewer than the former Security Ministry staff. Who will you be working with? Is it realistic to carry out the aforesaid mission with the number of staffers that the FCS will have available?

[Stepashin] Yes, it is. The personnel cut will be substantial, but we have worked out an entire system for carrying out this operation without affecting our performance. Some directorates will be disbanded, others will be merged—we will be trying to avoid any duplication or overlapping in the work of certain subunits. Ultimately we will be left with the most necessary directorates. The most important of these are the Directorate for Counterintelligence Operations, the Directorate for Counterintelligence Provision for Strategic Installations, the Directorate for Military Counterintelligence, the Directorate for Economic Counterintelligence, the Directorate for Combating Terrorism, and a number of others. There will be virtually no staff cuts to these subunits either centrally or at the local level. But, for instance, there will have to be cuts to the Secretariat, the Material and Technical Services Directorate, or the Military Organizational Development Directorate. Moreover, certain subunits—including the famous "Lefortovo"—will be transferred to the MVD.

[Sopelnyak] Does this mean, to use the words of the presidential edict abolishing the Security Ministry, that counterintelligence work will not be relaxed?

[Stepashin] Under no circumstances! Moreover, our effort will be focused in precisely this area.

[Sopelnyak] What can you say about the "system of political investigation, which has been mothballed but could easily be reactivated"?

[Stepashin] There can be no question of any political investigation—except, of course, for those cases when we are talking about illegally formed or prohibited associations of an extremist nature setting up armed formations and attacking the Russian constitutional system.

[Sopelnyak] The director is now leader of the FCS. Could you tell us about his rights and duties?

[Stepashin] First and foremost, the director heads the FCS and leads its 11-man collegium. Moreover, the director has one first deputy and five deputies. The president appoints the director and relieves him of his duties personally. The president also monitors the activity of the entire Russian FCS. As for the director, his rights and duties are not much different from those of the head of any other ministry.

[Sopelnyak] And, last, perhaps the most important question—has Russia benefited from these transformations and will we ordinary Russian citizens benefit from them?

[Stepashin] First and foremost, I would like everyone to realize that the need to set up the FCS was dictated not by some kind of whim but by life itself. I am sure that the FCS, in taking what was best from its predecessors and avoiding what was "negative," will become a reliable shield for both Russia and all Russian citizens.

Government To Consider Meeting Mass Media Demands

LD1101190094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1757 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The working group headed by Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko drafted an ordinance by the cabinet of ministers on the mass media. The document provides for a three-month suspension of the order to revaluate the capital assets of enterprises and organizations in its part concerning printing-houses, TASS was told today at the Russian Journalists' Union. The sharp rise in printing expenses nearly provoked a one-week strike of newspapermen.

Furthermore, the draft ordinance instructs the relevant agencies to consider the possibility of granting the mass media the status of cultural institutions in order to reduce taxes collected from them. The document also suggests that the publishers of children's books and textbooks be exempted from taxes and that socially important publications be subsidized by the state.

The draft also calls for certain amendments to the privatization programme for this year with a view to take a proper account of the mass media. Some governmental agencies are also instructed to solve other concrete problems facing the press.

The document is expected to be considered within the next few days. The working group of its drafters, which was set up as a result of the recent meeting of newspaper editors-in-chief and heads of journalists' associations with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, includes head of the Russian Committee for the Press Boris Mironov, chairman of the Russian Journalists' Union Vsevolod Bogdanov, head of the Association of Publishers and Editors-in-Chief Ivan Laptev.

Sobchak Says KGB Set Up Zhirinovskiy Party

LD1201094494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0724 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—"I have reliable information known at present to very few people about how Zhirinovskiy's party was set up, St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said. It happened straight after the abolition of Article 6 in the Constitution of the day—one that stipulated the CPSU's monopoly on power.

Today's issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA [LITERARY GAZETTE, a Moscow-based weekly] reports that Anatoliy Sobchak made this announcement during a ceremony at which he was presenting his new book, *The Tbilisi Fracture, or Bloody Sunday 1989.*

A multiparty system is in the offing, so we must act before the event, words to that effect were, according to the mayor, said by Mikhail Gorbachev at a Politburo sitting at the time. We ourselves ought to set up the first alternative party, but one that would be malleable.

The selection of a prospective party leader was left to the then-KGB, Sobchak says. As always, it rose to the task; it found among its so-called active reserve a man with the military rank of captain, whose name is now widely known. The name of the party, Liberal Democratic, was also invented there and then. It was a real success: After all, the word liberal has long been compromised in this country. Two weeks later the new party was officially registered. It was the first registered political party in the country, since the CPSU had never undergone the procedure; the party of Russian Communists was not registered until much later and under a slightly different name.

This story, the St. Petersburg mayor said, will be told in his next book, which is to be entitled: *Once Upon a Time There Was a Communist Party.*

Yeltsin Directive on Cadre Policy Council Task

PM1101133394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 5

[Directive No. 792-rp of the Russian Federation President, signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, dated 31 December 1993]

[Text] In accordance with the Statute on the Council for Cadre Policy Under the President of the Russian Federation, ratified by edict No. 848 of the president of the Russian Federation dated 3 June 1993:

1. The Council for Cadre Policy Under the President of the Russian Federation is charged with overal coordination of the work to prepare draft acts of the president of the Russian Federation, whose adoption is necessitated by the Statute on the Federal State Service, ratified by edict No. 2267 of the president of the Russian Federation dated 22 December 1993.

2. V.F. Shumeyko and S.A. Filatov, cochairmen of the Council for Cadre Policy Under the President of the Russian Federation, are to submit for ratification within 10 days a work schedule for the preparation of draft acts indicated in Point 1 of this directive.

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin
[Dated] 31 December 1993

Edict Eases Investment in Mineral Extraction

PM1101143394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 5

[Edict No. 2285 of the Russian Federation president, "Questions of Agreements on the Division of Output From the Use of Natural Resources," dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 24 December 1993 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purposes of creating legal bases for attracting Russian and foreign investments to search for, prospect, and extract mineral raw materials on the terms of agreements on the division of output during the period up to the coming into force of Russian Federation laws governing the procedure for applying such agreements and in accordance with Points 2 and 3 of the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1598 of 7 October 1993, "On Legal Regulation During the Period of Stage-By-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation," I decree:

1. It is to be established that the agreement on the division of output (hereinafter called the agreement) is one form of the state's treaty relations with investors—utilizers of natural resources—which provides for the division of extracted mineral raw materials among the contracting parties, which takes the place of the levying of taxes, dues, and duties, including customs and excise duties and other compulsory payments provided for in existing legislation (herinafter called taxes), with the exception of profits tax and payments for the right to utilize natural resources, which may be paid, by agreement among the sides, both in a cost form and in kind.

2. The parties to the agreement are:

the state—the Russian Federation in the persons of the Russian Federation Government and the organ of executive power of the component of the Russian Federation on whose territory the section of the earth is located, or the organs authorized by them;

the investor—the legal person, including a foreign one, or the group of indicated legal persons, with or without the creation of a new legal person in accordance with Russian Federation legislation.

3. The state can authorize an enterprise controlled by it to fulfill individual functions associated with monitoring compliance with the terms of the agreement and (or) participation in implementing it.

4. The right to utilize natural resources on the terms of the agreement is granted to the investor according to the procedure provided for in Russian Federation legislation and is endowed with a license.

When the investor is a group of legal persons without the creation of a new legal person, a license may be issued to one of these legal persons, with the license noting that he acts on behalf of this group.

5. The agreement defines the terms for the use of the section of the earth and also includes special points which establish the procedure for:

defining that part of the extracted mineral raw materials, including the maximum part, which is transferred to the investor's ownership to compensate him for his production expenses;

dividing the extracted mineral raw materials between the state and the investor, with the exception of payments for the right to utilize natural resources and that part of the extracted mineral raw materials transferred to the investor's ownership to compensate him for his production expenses;

handing over to the state that part of the mineral raw materials that belongs to him under the terms of the agreement;

levying the profits tax and payments for the right to utilize natural resources.

6. The extracted mineral raw materials, which under the terms of the agreement, are the state's share are placed at the disposal of organs or enterprises authorized by it.

The part of the mineral raw materials (or its cost equivalent) received by the state as a result of dividing the output is distributed on the basis of special treaties between the organs of executive power of the Russian Federation and the components of the Russian Federation—treaties that are not part of the agreement.

The profits tax and the payment levied for the right to utilize natural resources are distributed in accordance with existing legislation and are entered in the appropriate budgets.

7. The mineral raw materials passing to the investor's ownership under the terms of the agreement may be exported from the Russian Federation by him according to the procedure defined for exports of output of his own production. At the same time, the agreement lays down long-term export quotas for such raw materials for enterprises, which do not have the right to export output of their own production outside the Russian Federation without a license.

8. In accordance with Part 1 of this edict, output with a production and technical designation imported into the Russian Federation by the investor within the framework of the agreement is exempt from value-added tax and customs duties.

9. Fixed capital, newly created in the course of implementing the agreement, remains the investor's property unless the agreement makes other provision.

10. The provisions of the agreement retain their force throughout its period of validity. Changes are permitted to be made to the agreement only with the mutual consent of the parties, if no other procedure is provided for in the agreement.

11. If during the agreement's period of validity Russian Federation legislative acts establish norms tha worsen the commercial results of the investor's activity within the framework of the agreement, changes are made to it to ensure that the investor gets the commercial results,which could have been secured if the legislative norms operating at the time the agreement was concluded had been applied. The procedure for making the aforesaid changes is defined in the agreement.

12. On representation from the Russian Federation Ministry of Fuel and Energy and the Russian Federation Committee for Geology and the Use of Natural Resources, agreed with the interested ministries and departments of the Russian Federation and the components of the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation Government is to ensure the elaboration and adoption of normative documents ensuring the implementation of the norms of this edict.

13. This edict is to be submitted for examination to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

14. This edict comes into force the moment it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation
[Dated]24 December 1993

Commentary Says Apparatus Needs Curbing

PM1101162794 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 2

[Georgiy Satarov commentary: "Happy New Year, Comrade Bureaucrats!"]

[Text] Bureaucracy is permanent. Bureaucracy is terrible. Bureaucracy is essential. It recognizes no state boundaries, has no fear of time, and is absolutely devoid of complexes. We are afraid of it and curse it, we struggle and write pamphlets against it, but we cannot do without it.

However, we have come to terms with the fact that the bureaucrat, like any person, has his own interests and that he very naturally directs his energies first and foremost into defending and implementing his own tasks, and not, as we would like, our tasks. It is here precisely that the nub of the problem lies: The state and bureaucracy—which is an integral part of it—are created to act on our interests, but the personal and corporate interests of the people constituting the state machine prevent this. It is impossible to eliminate this contradiction. It can only be reduced to a greater or lesser extent and, in as much as it is possible, made to benefit the public. Agreed, this is not simple. But in order to do this it is necessary to first of all to attempt to understand what bureaucracy is, what its interests are, and how it acts on them.

Bureaucracy's chief resource is power. In the hands of an official this resource is converted into other forms of capital. But the most important law governing power is the urge of a person or institution possessing power to increase it. Another law may be added to this one, which can be called the "law of conservation of power." According to it, officials acquire power only at the expense of others.

In a democratic state—consequently in Russia also—the people are the source of power. In any case this is what is written in our Constitution. As a consequence of elections, part of this power is vested in elected politicians—deputies, presidents, governors etc. The chosen politicians depend on the people directly through the process of the elections, their policies are for the most part public and kept in the sights of the mass media. All this limits their power, restrains in some measure their urge to increase it, and forces them to fit their personal interests in with those of the voters.

However, public politicians' power is exercised with the help of the apparatus. Meaning that part of the power is transferred to it. Officials in the apparatus are appointed, which means that they depend on those who appoint them and have to work to promote the interests, in addition to themselves, of those politicians who appoint them. By now we have moved quite a long way away from the public interest. Moreover the apparatus' power is less public and therefore all the greater. It is interesting that from the very first months of the Russian Supreme Soviet's existence the habit developed of appointing deputies to positions in the apparatus. This was particularly widely practised last year. Once a deputy had become an official he defended the corporate interest of his organ of power and forgot about the voters.

Public politicians make up other organs of power (the courts, the executive branch of power, etc.) and transfer part of their power to them. The latter, in turn, form their own apparatuses giving rise to an army of state bureaucrats.

This is amazing. Every politician and department thinks that by increasing their apparatus, the politician's or department's power will also increase. But the opposite happens. A politician's power is limited by other politicians' power and powers. The power of a department (or branch of power) is limited by other departments' power and powers. Therefore, a politician's or department leader's power passes to his apparatus without a change in the total amount of power.

An unjustified increase in the apparatus' size leads to control over it being lost, which increases its power at the expense of public politicians. As a result the power of the people, which has temporally been transferred to public politicians by elections, is concentrated in the hands of the bureaucracy. This process may result in the usurpation of the power of the people.

Our Russian bureaucracy has two aspects. Its first aspect is the section of the old nomenklatura bureaucracy, which is regenerating itself. It cannot get enough of adapting, usurping power for itself, hiding its power, and strengthening it. It religiously guards its corporate interests, makes its own "rules," and inculcates them in its new recruits, corrupting them with the advantages gained through keeping to them. This bureaucracy knows how to be effective when defending its own interests or when it has been given no way out and has been forced to work in the interests of others, even those of the public.

The second aspect of Russian bureaucracy is represented by the new politicians who appeared at the end of the 1980's as a result of the first open elections. The majority of them are not politicians (in the Soviet meaning of the word) nor are they officials. They are average-grade professionals from other fields of endeavor. Having unexpectedly gotten into politics, they brought with them a conviction that there are areas of human endeavor that anybody can fathom if they add politics to pedagogy and medicine.

An absence of professionalism may not be very significant when coordinating public interests, which is usually what takes place in legislative representative bodies. But in any other area of power, especially in area of implementing practical policy—and the apparatus needs to handle this in particular—professionalism is essential.

For historical reasons, many recently recruited politicians have lately been filling positions as officials in the apparatus. Skipping the professional training essential to climb the professional ladder, they have moved into important positions. They have brought the hullabaloo of political squabbles to the quiet corridors of power, turning the offices of members of the apparatus into party headquarters. To counterbalance this, similar processes have been taking place in other offices where other officials, instead of performing their state duties, have been carrying out political tasks to redress the balance. The apparatus has been politicized right through. It has begun to live for and tear itself apart over political passions and has not only stopped working to carry out its "job description" but also even to promote its corporate interests, and by so doing has weakened the state power.

Politicians holding posts as officials have not become officials and have not ceased to be politicians. Meaning that they have used their power as members of the apparatus at every opportunity to resolve their own personal political problems. They have been able to do this all the more effectively because the apparatus' power is for the most part hidden from outsiders and is shameless in its choice of methods.

The overall result is that our bureaucracy with its two aspects is extremely ineffective at carrying out socially necessary and state tasks. Reforming it is a necessary condition for survival. It is encouraging that we heard at the Russian president's press conference evidence that these problems are understood. Evidence not only of the intention to reform the administration and government by reducing its staff, but also of the establishment of a lasting dialogue between those holding power and society, of the necessity of pursuing public policies. Both are extremely important as they prevent the bureaucracy from going unchecked and strengthening beyond all bounds. No less important is a reliance on professionalism in appointments which should reduce the proportion of politicized personnel in the bureaucracy and their pernicious effect on it.

The only problem, however consistent the Russian president is in putting his intentions into effect, is whether he has sufficient power to reform the apparatus using the apparatus itself when there is opposition from within it.

Constitutional Court Judge Announces Hunger Strike

LD1101161094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Beginning Tuesday Viktor Luchin, a judge on Russia's Constitutional Court [CC], has announced a hunger strike due to the unwillingness of the Constitutional Court's judges to make any decision regarding his authority, Luchin's consultant Mikhail Moyseyenko reported to Interfax.

The authority of Viktor Luchin, as well as that of Valeriy Zorkin, was suspended December 1, 1993, due to accusations of political activity, which is inadmissible for CC judges. In particular, Luchin was accused of his participation in the congresses of Russia's communist party, at the congress of former People's Deputies, and in the election campaign waged last autumn. However, last November 15 Luchin removed his candidacy from lists of the Agrarian party, and there have been no congresses of the communist party or former People's Deputies of the USSR in the course of the previous year. Luchin believes that there are no grounds to suspend his authority.

According to Moyseyenko, Luchin intends to continue his hunger strike until the court passes a decision. As far as Valeriy Zorkin is concerned, he disapproves Luchin's decision, reported Moyseyenko.

IZVESTIYA Welcomes Arbitration Court Ruling

PM1201103694 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 3

[Article by Eduard Gonzalyez: "IZVESTIYA—a Full Joint-Stock Company. That Is the Verdict of the Russian Superior Court of Arbitration"]

[Text] On the penultimate day of the year, a court of arbitration consisting of chairman O. Boykov and judges A. Kozlova and I. Polubenina published the main part of its ruling on a case in which the joint-stock company "IZVESTIYA Newspaper Editorial Office" was a third party. The protagonists were the Russian Federal Property Fund (old model) and the IZVESTIYA publishing house, which had been trying for nearly a year to secure a ruling that all directives of the Russian Federation Goskomimushchestvo [State Committee for the Management of State Property] relating to the conversion of the IZVESTIYA editorial office to a joint-stock company are invalid. Their petition was rejected.

Readers of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, KOMMERSANT, and several other publications will doubtless remember that last year from time to time they saw reports on the "tug-of-war arbitration" involving IZVESTIYA. Admittedly their authors, who still believe to this day in the primacy of the material world, represented the case as a primordial struggle on the juridical "carpet" over a piece of state property. But just before Christmas we received the full text of the Superior Court of Arbitration ruling, which states "that the subject of the present dispute is an act in the sphere of administrative activity, and not a property dispute over the use of specific premises."

So the court confirmed that it was not a property dispute. Frankly, prior to the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet it was not a legal dispute either. And the events developed not so much "on the carpet" as "under the carpet." The Supreme Soviet was using others to fight on its behalf for the newspaper IZVESTIYA, while IZVESTIYA was fighting for its independence. Remember that first we totally won the case in the Constitutional Court. Then the same happened thing at the Supreme Court, which overruled certain points in the Supreme Soviet decree touching on the IZVESTIYA collective. In November the Russian Federal Property Fund totally abandoned its suit. We can only speculate what pressure had previously been put on the Superior Court of Arbitration—the last hope of a vainglorious and notorious politician in his struggle against IZVESTIYA.

Well, it seems we are all still here. The arbitration ruling declared that the Russian Federation Goskomimushchestvo, in issuing directives on the conversion of the IZVESTIYA editorial office to a joint-stock company, was acting within its powers. That is the main point. It can be assumed that the Russian Federation Superior Court of Arbitration has confirmed the legality of the formation of the "IZVESTIYA Newspaper Editorial Office" joint-stock company of the open type, and its existence for the past year and three months.

The discursive section of the court ruling ends with a reservation: The conversion of the editorial office to a joint-stock company must not violate the publishing house's rights to the premises it actually occupies. Who is going to argue with that? Especially since it goes on to say, in black and white: "Where there is a dispute over specific premises, the dispute should be examined under the general complaints procedure between the editorial office and the publishing house."

On the one hand this is reassuring—the "general procedure"—but on the other, does this really mean that as the Superior Court of Arbitration ruling enters into legal force we will only receive the right to be the protagonist and not a third party in the next court case?

But time will tell. At the moment the IZVESTIYA editorial office is sincerely grateful to Russian Federation Goskomimushchestvo expert N. Osokin and the lawyers of the law firm "Samsonov and Partners", who upheld the justice of our common case in the court of arbitration.

One last point: The end of the proceedings in the Superior Court of Arbitration coincided with the start of the printing of IZVESTIYA at the "Pressa" publishing house's printing plant. This timing was no accident. But in order to avoid misinterpretations, let us explain: The move to the "Pressa" printing plant was motivated solely by technical factors, specifically the need (under an international contract) to continue to print FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA on our English partner's paper and our desire at the same time to produce the television supplement on blue paper. Otherwise, there would have been no need for the extra trouble for ourselves and some of our readers who did not receive the first issues of the newspaper on time. For which we offer them our apologies.

Airline Unions Ask Yeltsin To Fire Chief

MK1101143094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 2

[Andrey Nikolayev report under the "Trade Unions" rubric: "Pilots and Air Controllers Demand Resignation of Air Transport Department Director"]

[Text] Participants in the trade union conference of air crews of the Vnukovo Airlines company have passed an appeal to Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin. It points out that in recent times, "the state of affairs in civil aviation has sharply worsened," while the leadership of Russia's Air Transport Department is taking no effective measures to bring the sector out of a deep crisis. More, department director Vladimir Zamotin and his immediate entourage, the appeal says, hamper in every way the work of airlines that have switched to new forms of economic development. At the same time, "the safety of flights in the sector is at a low level whereas the quality of services to passengers has sharply fallen." All this, the authors of the appeal think, results from the fact that "the sector is being controlled by an amateur, a former party apparatchik who had worked for a considerable length of time in the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee."

In this connection, participants in the conference passed a demand to the Russian president and prime minister to relieve Vladimir Zamotin of the position he fills, and recommended that Anatoliy Kochur, president of Russia's Association of Air Crews, be appointed director of the Air Transport Department in his place.

As was intimated at the headquarters of the Association of Air Crews, the conference had also passed an appeal to work collectives of Russia's civil aviation for support of the demand for Zamotin's resignation. At the moment statements supporting this demand have come not only from civil aviation air crews and aviation technical services of airline members of the Association of Air Crews, but also from the Association of Air Crews of the Armed Forces and the Federation of Air Traffic Controllers of Russia, where they believe that the present department director should be fired if only "for actions aimed against free trade unions, as well as for red tape."

Bonus to Prosecutor's Office Staffers Criticized

PM1101165194 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 5

[Stepan Valentinnikov report under the "Around Lefortovo" rubric: "Bonus With a Protest"]

[Text] An extremely curious document and a short commentary on it have been published in the first issue of the newspaper MEGAPOLIS-KONTINENT....

Directive No. 2105-r of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government dated Moscow, 23 November 1993.

1. The Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office shall be permitted to provide workers of investigative and operational brigades investigating crimes committed 3-4 October 1993 with material assistance equivalent to three months' salary.

2. The Russian Ministry of Finance shall to this end allocate 116.7 million rubles from the Russian Federation republic's budget.

[Signed] O. Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government.

We would like to believe that the government directive we have reproduced here is a joke. But the source, which passed the document to the editorial office, is entirely trustworthy.

Of course, these two short paragraphs of an unclassified and seemingly ordinary government decision raise a number of questions. For example, why should the government permit the General Prosecutor's Office—an independent state organ—to do something when the actions of government officials are subject to scrutiny by this very same prosecutor's office? And why should workers at the prosecutor's office investigating October's bloodshed suddenly be allocated up to three (!) times their normal salary? Have they become destitute? Or are they no longer working for money? Or is it perhaps just compensation for the moral damage that this sort of investigation inflicts on the souls of the sensitive prosecutors? However, let them have it, these 116.7 million rubles from a budget that is already showing a deficit. The simple fact is that, judging from this document, yet another myth has been exploded—the myth of the independence of the General Prosecutor's Office. How sad it is to part with our illusions about the rule-of-law state....

'Pamyat' Denied Registration by Justice Ministry

MK1101173094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by Sergey Kaverin: "Justice Ministry Ignored 'Pamyat'"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Justice Ministry officially turned down an application by D. Vasilyev, leader of "Pamyat," a well-known monarchist movement, to register his organization. The reasons are clear: "Pamyat's" extremist program is at odds with Russian laws.

In his first public appearance literally two hours after the incident, Mr. Vasilyev described this decision by the Justice Ministry as "genocide against the Russians"—"the Justice Ministry has been registering all conceivable pornographic organizations, but has not registered ours, a national-patriotic one!"

Vasilyev's words were echoed by V. Bogachev, chief of the European Liberal Democratic Party [ELDP] (it turns out that we have a party like this, too—S.K.). V. Bogachev called on all patriotic forces to write "an open letter against the Justice Ministry." As a matter of fact, the ELDP does not have any relation to V. Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, a fact Mr. Bogachev was swift to confirm by calling the latter a fascist party and expressing his astonishment that it was registered by that same Justice Ministry.

Criminal Proceedings Against Lukyanov To Continue

LD1201115494 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] There are no legal grounds for discontinuing criminal proceedings against Anatoliy Lukyanov and Vasiliy Starodubtsev, who have both been elected to the Russian Federal Assembly. This ruling was made today by the court of the Supreme Court Military Board, which is in charge of the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

Lukyanov's lawyer, Genrikh Padva, applied for the criminal proceedings against his client and Vasiliy Starodubtsev to be discontinued pending the adoption of the law on the status of deputies.

In the court's opinion, the adoption of the law will not free the defendants from criminal liability. Nor does the Russian Constitution, adopted at the 12 December referendum, free the SCSE trial defendants from liability, the court believes.

INTERFAX reports that the trial is to be resumed at 0900 on 13 January.

Economic Issues

Official Comments on Privatization Program

PM1101152194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Dmitriy Vasilyev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, by A. Yevgenev under the "Privatization Program" rubric; date, place not given: "Voucher To Last Another Six Months"]

[Text] The state program for the privatization of state and municipal enterprises in the Russian Federation (see ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA No. 1, 1994) can without any exaggeration be called a document long in the making. For various reasons, including political factors, work on it went on for 13 months. We asked Dmitriy Vasilyev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property [Goskomimushchestvo], to comment on its most important provisions:

[Vasilyev] The program's main task is to create the conditions for the completion of check privatization. At the same time we have tried to take account of the lessons of the previous stage—for instance, we have introduced a section entitled "Regional Peculiarities of Privatization." That is why the Far North, for instance, is seen as an autonomous region. The leaders of certain regions where a great deal has been accomplished have taken offense: Don't protect us like children, they say, give us more autonomy; and we have met them halfway. Quite another scheme is adopted in oblasts such as Magadan and Chita, which are close to becoming a socioeconomic disaster zone. Of course, here it is not a matter of generating revenue from privatization: The main thing is to ensure employment among the population. A whole section extends the regions' rights in the following direction also: They will themselves resolve whether facilities of one scale or another—for instance, a city's engineering infrastructure—should be privatized or not and, if so, how.

The list of facilities whose privatization is forbidden has been increased. In point of fact we did not touch on these facilities earlier either, but now we have confirmed this documentarily. Well, indeed, what reason is there to privatize, say, the maritime transport rescue service? Its work cannot be based on commercial principles.

But at the same time the register of organizations subject to compulsory privatization has also grown. It includes not only hotel complexes and motels, camp sites, boarding houses, and housing and utilities, but also debtor enterprises in all sectors. In other words, if you work badly and make losses, seek new managers through transforming the forms of ownership; change the system of management itself, and your hierarchical system.

I hope that the position of those who up to the present time have been leasing premises not intended for habitation will become more definite. To this day they have been, as it were, living out of suitcases: And suddenly, on the expiry of their lease term they are asked to leave their cosy nest and sell the square meters to someone else, to say nothing of such inconveniences as the impossibility of obtaining credit on security. Now there is complete clarity in this area: If you have bought an enterprise at a competition or auction, you have the right to acquire also the premises that you were renting before. In the upshot, small-scale privatization will probably become more attractive.

At long last order has been introduced with respect to the bloc of shares guaranteed to the state. All this used to be done arbitrarily, by eye. The program's drafters proceeded on the basis that the block, strictly defined in size, should correspond to this or that state interest. If the state sets itself the goal of keeping absolute control over an enterprise, it should own 51 percent of the shares (more than that is not necessary; the rest can be sold); if it aims at keeping partial control (which enables it to prevent a change in the joint-stock company's charter), it should be granted 25.5 percent of the shares.

Like the previous program, the present program contains three varieties of perquisites for the employees of privatized enterprises. The first two have not undergone noticeable changes, but the third has been geared toward the forthcoming wave of bankruptcies. People assuming obligations not to allow the ruin of an enterprise receive the right to 20-30 percent of its incorporation capital. They put down a deposit of 200 minimum salaries, which is forfeit in the event of failure. Already today the new-fledged property class is selling cars and apartments in order to be come major owners of industrial property and, with the rights of private owners, to dispose of enterprises in such a way as to rescue them from collapse. The scale here is not limited—it can be a chocolate factory, or the Likhachev Automobile Plant.

Investment competitions will be held in a new way. Formerly, participants in these competitions swamped those attending with the most diverse and tempting programs, including foreign programs—take your pick of which is the idee fixe, and which is the goose that lays the golden eggs. Henceforth there will be the following criterion: massive investments in the minimum time. And the need to contribute real money to the coffers of the enterprise directly after the auctions.

It is well known that at present incompleted construction projects are sold with great reluctance. The owner dies, but does not give way—it's mine! Here the following rule is introduced: In the process of privatization an uncompleted facility is removed from the enterprise's assets and goes under the hammer. Moreover, this is profitable to everyone: The owner receives half the proceeds, and the committee for the administration of property and the corresponding fund share the rest between them. In our view, this incentive should be effective.

Protection for shareholders has been devised. Should one of them conceive a desire to sell his shares, he will pay no tax. In addition, no one has the right, without the knowledge of Goskomimuchestvo, to dispose of an enterprise's property until it has become private. Even before there were a lot of people wishing to sell goods on the quiet, while reorganization was underway.

Restrictions have been imposed on the creation of holding companies. Knowing our old love of changing the landmarks and raking in the cash, we have written into the program that no holding can have more than 10 percent of the shares in any joint-stock company.

At the same time the purchase of shares by commercial banks is restricted. The ruination of enterprises inevitably rebounds on banks, and therefore, on their investors. A chain reaction. We could become witness to what happened during the Great Depression in the United States.

I want to bring cheer to the check investment funds: They are exempt from dual taxation. Undoubtedly, their influence on the affairs of an enterprise will also increase: Whereas before the fund could acquire no more than 10 percent of the shares of one entity, now it can acquire up to 25 percent.

And one more detail that is of no little importance: There are strong and weak check funds. We have permitted the strong funds to buy up the shares of the weak funds. This has been done once again to prevent the bankruptcy of weaklings and, in the final analysis, to protect the interests of shareholders.

Shareholders are also to have a greater say. It is established that only with the agreement of three-fourths of the members of a joint-stock company can the charter of a joint-stock company be changed, a large part of its capital handed over, or a decision on participation in holding companies be made. Cumulative voting is introduced, enabling a minority to be represented on the council of directors. A mechanism has been elaborated for holding assemblies of the joint-stock society.

Let me say directly that it is not so easy to implement everything that is projected. Hence a system of "sticks and carrots" has been devised. Financial resources will be allocated to regions taking account of fulfillment of the State Privatization program. The stakes are high. But the problem for the country is also not inconsiderable.

Increasing interest is being shown abroad in our privatization program. In principle this is no bad thing. But will Russian property not end up in the hands of "their" mafia? Especially the juiciest morsels: the defense complex, precious metals, oil, and gas. We therefore think the following system crucial: At the end of a competition or auction the organizations are to send the Federal Counterintelligence Service information on the winners in these auctions, and the Federal Counterintelligence Service is to gather all the necessary information within one month and present its conclusion to the government. And the government will issue the final verdict.

Results Show Economy 'Moving Backward' in 1993

PM1101161994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Vyacheslav Gerasimov: "Sweet Promises Bear Bitter Fruit"]

[Text] Despite the numerous promises made by reformers about the imminent onset of a time of plenty, we are very far from general prosperity. According to the market economy luminaries' estimates, even if stabilization finally starts in 1994 it will be around 20-30 years before we can start to live the Western way. However, we should not hope for stabilization this year. Figures from the Russian State Committee for Statistics testify to an acceleration in economic decline.

Compared with the unfavorable year of 1992, 1993 looks even more unfavorable. Indicators on the majority of types of output are minus numbers. On some of them, the volume of production has fallen by 50 percent. Thus, the output of large electric machines, low-capacity electric motors, and trucks made up slightly less than half of the output from the same period of the previous year year; overhead cranes, bulldozers, mainline freightcars—one-third; forge-and-press machines, automobile trailers and semitrailers, and tractors—less than 10-25 percent.

In ferrous metallurgy, the output of cast iron, steel, and rolled metal fell significantly. In comparison with the same period the previous year, 54 percent fewer steel pipes were manufactured. In comparison with the level of December 1992 the daily average manufacture of PVC resin, pipes, parts of pipelines made of thermoplastics, chemical fibers and threads, microbiological feed protein, and tires for agricultural vehicles fell by 40-65 percent.

The daily production of commercial lumber fell by over one-third against the level of the previous December, lumber by 37 percent, matches and pit props by half, and cardboard by one-fourth.

The production of woolen fabrics and footwear fell by half, silk by 42 percent, linen, hemp, and jute fabrics and jersey products by almost one-third, and hosiery articles by 24 percent. The production of children's shoes fell significantly—by 58 percent.

Because of material and financial difficulties, no washing machines were manufactured at the Nizhnyy Novgorod Automobile Plant or at the GPZ-4 Production Association (Samara city) from the beginning of the year; no receiver sets were manufactured at the Velikolukskiy "Radiopribor" Production Association, or at the "Sokol" radio equipment plant (Moscow), the Kamensk-Uralsk radio plant (Sverdlovsk Oblast), and so on.

The paralysis in the economy is being especially keenly felt in transportation. The volume of freight transportation is falling from one month to the next, and the country's transportation arteries are coming to a standstill. Thus, in comparison with the same period of the previous year the number of trips actually carried out by overland transportation fell: In Nizhnyy Novgorod by 67 percent, Saransk and Yakutsk by 22 percent, Pskov by 19 percent, Orenburg by 14 percent, Krasnoyarsk by 13 percent, and Astrakhan, Krasnodar, and Barnaul by 12 percent.

The famine with which we were threatened has proved not to be a propaganda trick; it is already knocking on our doors. The production of fruit and vegetable preserves, macaroni, tea, and mineral water fell (by 33-41 percent) against the corresponding period of the previous year, and that of whole milk and margarine products, meat, butter, and canned meat fell by 13-28 percent. The production of food concentrates fell by over one-half.

On the other hand an increase was recorded in the output of vacuum cleaners. Evidently the demand for this of equipment has risen among the population. That is bad luck. What will be the next thing to create a stir? Meanwhile the leadership is moving along like a crab. Our economy is moving backward from what was achieved during the five-year plans, not accumulating wealth but squandering it.

Economic Security Commission Session Reported

MK1101144094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 2

[RIA untitled report under the "In Brief" rubric]

[Text] Moscow—The first session of the Russian Federation Security Council's interdepartmental commission on economic security took place in Moscow yesterday. Andrey Zverev, head of the economic department of the Russian Federation Government staff, was appointed chairman of the commission by a decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The session also examined questions connected with the elaboration of an economic security state doctrine, and the progress of economic reform in the country among other problems. Taking part in the session were the heads of ministries and agencies represented on the commission.

Labor Commission To Consider 'General Agreement'

PM1101173394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Golyayev : "Trilateral Commission Begins..."]

[Text] The Russian Trilateral Commission on Regulating Social and Labor Relations is resuming its work. Next Wednesday representatives of the government, Russian trade unions, and the country's entrepreneurs will gather at the Russian Federation Ministry of Labor in order to discuss a candidate nominated for the post of coordinator. It is proposed that the draft of a future general agreement also be scrutinized. This question will be on the agenda of the conference of leaders of regional and sector committees of trade unions belonging to the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia taking place at the end of the week in the Moscow area.

Military Issues

Interior Troops Might Come Under Yeltsin

LD1101132694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The Russian interior troops may be subordinated directly to the president following the example of the former Security Ministry and the frontier troops, according to a planned reform of the Interior Ministry, TASS learned on tuesday from well-informed sources in the presidential administration which added, however, that no concept of reform had been yet submitted to the president.

The Interior Ministry will most probably be divided in several parts called "operative main departments" which will be entrusted with fighting the most serious types of crime. The departments will comprise criminal police.

Policemen who ensure public order may be united into municipal police.

Firemen and investigators will become "independent" departments, as well as the department which deals with prisons and labour camps.

The reform scheme is currently being drafted by the interior ministry itself, according to the sources.

Experts are split in assessing the planned reform of the Interior Ministry. Some of them told TASS they are against splitting the anti-crime forces while others believe the reform of the ministry is necessary to meet the demands of the time.

Army Personnel Directorate To Be Cut

PM1101160894 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 2

[Own Information" report carried as part of "Military Review" feature under the general heading "Everything Changes in the Army. Except the Defense Minister's Birthday":"Spare a Word for the Poor 'Glavpur' [Main Political Directorate]"]

[Text] The Defense Ministry collegium has made another decision on another reorganization of the Main Directorate for Work with Personnel, the now former the Main Military-Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and the Navy. Veteran political workers will remember that this is either the fourth or the fifth "purge" of the once indivisible ranks of ideologists and propagandists. The names, structures, and staffs have changed but the department itself has remained, albeit with fewer people. Everyone criticized it except the lazy ones: a "bastion of stagnation," a "hotbed of deception," and so forth. But in the crackle of newspaper crossfire it seemed to have been forgotten that there is no other organization capable of taking care of the education of soldiers and sailors. There was much talk about military chaplains but for some reason priests, mullahs, and rabbis did not appear in the barracks.

"The army is outside politics"—that was the main slogan of recent years. But can that be said today after the events of 4 October and the elections? Some observers, albeit highly cautious ones, connect the latest "purge" of the "Glavpur" with the elections in particular. In Russia's political elite people believe that the Army made a weighty contribution to Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy]'s victory. But it voted for the new Constitution, too, didn't it?

Be that as it may, it is now being said that the directorate's staffs will be reduced by two-thirds leaving fewer than 50 people in the new structure. What will the trade-off be? For the moment there is none. The Armed Forces will finally be outside politics and at the same time outside education.

Navy's Position on Radioactive Waste Viewed

LD1101172794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Nikolay Shapovalenko, chief of the section to supervise radioactive security of defense sites, declared to Interfax that Russia's Defense Ministry and Navy had occupied a non-constructive position with respect to control over the storage of liquid radioactive wastes at military facilities on the part of the State committee on atomic supervision.

In his words, the Defense Ministry refers to the fact that civil departments abroad have never supervised such kind of military activity. Shapovalenko pointed out that the Defense Minister should issue a decree to bring into force a provision on the State committee on atomic supervision in the ministry's structure because "it is difficult to establish a single state system of supervision over radioactive security on Russia's territory without this."

Shapovalenko declared that last December a working group of the Environment and Natural Resources Ministry prepared a report for the government to solve the problem with liquid radioactive wastes. In particular, it proposes to forward membrane devices to re-process nuclear wastes, which have been designed by the association Radon, to the Pacific Fleet for test exploitation.

In addition, he said, "we have accepted Japan's proposal which will hand over a dual-bottom tanker to Russia to store 10,000 tons of liquid radioactive wastes. However, the government must consider the issue on the construction of facilities to re-process liquid radioactive wastes on the Northern and Pacific Fleets and several regional burial places in order to entirely resolve this problem."

A feasibility study for a burial place on the territory of the former nuclear test range on Novaya Zemlya has been already prepared and subjected to state ecological expertise. "The same burial place should be created in the Far East, but if we start construction this year it will be concluded not earlier than 1997," said Shapovalenko.

He reported that a facility capable of re-processing 8,000 cubic meters of liquid radioactive wastes annually will be assembled on the Kola peninsula on the basis of the water purification station of the Murmansk sea steamship line. Shapovalenko said that the Murmansk steamship line is ready to accept wastes from military crafts assigned to the Northern Fleet on a commercial basis.

Research, Crew Changes Under Way at Mir Complex

LD1201115794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Flight Control centre January 12 TASS—Five Russian cosmonauts—Vasiliy Tsibliyev, Aleksandr Serebrov, Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev, and Valeriy Polyakov—are working for the third day running on board the "Mir" orbital complex. Today's plan of the joint flight envisages geophysical, medical, and biotechnological experiments, and the transfer of duties to the crew of the fifteenth main expedition.

A cycle of video-filmings and spectrometeric observations of separate parts of the earth's continents and oceans are being carried out in keeping with the programme of studies of the earth's natural resources and the environment.

The new crew, brought to the complex a short while ago, is carrying out a series of experiments to study in greater detail the mechanisms of the human organism's adaptation to the conditions of orbital flight, including by the method of blood composition.

The biotechnological experiment, started on January 10, is being continued. Its purpose is to explore the possibility of obtaining hybrid cells of plants in conditions of imponderability.

The old crew of the complex is to check during the day the condition of the board systems of the "Soyuz TM-17" vehicle and to prepare it for the return voyage to the earth.

Reports received from the cosmonauts and telemetric data show that the flight is proceeding normally.

Federal Assembly

Yeltsin Urges Deputies To Consolidate Civic Peace

LD1101144294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Russian President Boris Yeltsin told the Federation Council on Monday that the nation expected the parliament to make strong efforts to consolidate civic peace. [passage omitted]

"My speech during the opening of the Federal Assembly can and must be viewed as political advice to the new Russian parliament from which the Russian people expect major democratic accomplishments," Boris Yeltsin told Interfax before his departure from the upper chamber of the Russian parliament.

He said that shortly he would address a joint session of both chambers, highlighting Russia's domestic and foreign policies, and economic targets for the next couple of years.

As the Federation Council has not elected its chairman yet, on Boris Yeltsin's initiative the session is chaired by the Federation Council's oldest member, Yuriy Chernichenko, whose candidacy was supported during an open vote.

Federation Council Receives Hoax Bomb Threat

LD1101140294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1329 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The upper chamber of the Russian Parliament, the Federation Council, received a phony bomb threat on the first day of its work on Tuesday, according to its own security service.

An employee of the service told TASS that as rumours about the bomb began to circulate sniffer dogs were brought in during a break in the work of the chamber and the building was searched. No explosive devices were found, according to him.

Federation Council Session Adopts Agenda

LD1101183094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] During the morning session of the Federation Council, the deputies adopted the agenda and rules of work. There are four items on the agenda: the election of working bodies, the rules of the first session, the election of chairman of the Federation Council, and the election of vice chairmen.

The majority of the deputies demanded that the government present a report because they believe that it does not know the economic and social situation in the country. Following debates, the decision was taken to ask Prime Minister Chernomyrdin or some other leading Cabinet member to address the Federation Council.

The rules of the session consist of 14 articles. If the session is attended by two-thirds of the elected deputies (114), the session shall be considered legitimate. One of the articles defines the duties of the chairperson. During sessions he shall have no right to comment on the deputies' speeches. Another article says that the Federation Council's chairman and vice chairmen shall be elected during a secret ballot. Each candidacy to the post of vice chairman shall be discussed and a separate vote shall be held on it.

After a break, at about 16:00, the working bodies of the Federation Council's session will be elected, and debates will be held on the election of the Federation Council's chairman and vice chairmen.

Federation Council Split on Regional Factions Issue

LD1101184094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1741 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Territorial associations in the Federation Council will pose a threat to interaction of the legislative and executive authorities, North Ossetian parliament head Akhsarbek Galazov told ITAR-TASS here today.

A major task of the parliament upper chamber is the provision of efficient interaction between the State Duma, presidential structures, the government and regions. The chamber should "connect Russian federal power bodies with the authorities of territories, regions and republics," he said.

In his turn, Eduard Rossel, staunch advocate of the idea of the Urals republic and president of the association of economic interaction of Urals regions and republics, voiced the expediency of territorial associations in the Federation Council.

In his opinion, they should set up "regional parliament centers to unite local representatives of the State Duma and the Federation Council". He said the Urals association has been set up to include two republics and six regions.

Rossel noted they have not held consultations with other regions on the creation of similar "parliament centers", but it is planned to hold a conference of representatives of all Russian economic associations in February to continue the creation of similar associations on their basis.

Yuriy Boldyrev, a leader of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, noted territorial factions will inevitably appear in the Federation Council due to different interests of republics, territories and autonomous formations and different political outlook.

Some deputies sharply criticize the idea of territorial associations. Nizhniy Novgorod regional governor Boris Nemtsov said they "pose greater threat than political factions in the Federation Council". In his opinion, territorial associations will deteriorate differences between various Russian regions.

Vladimir Shumeyko is negative about the associations. According to the constitution, the Federation Council shall be formed with representatives of executive and representative authorities of federation subjects and "it can include no factions or associations", he said.

According to Shumeyko, the upper chamber should think of the way legislation is applied throughout the Russian Federation and the influence of laws on the fate of regions. Members of the Federation Council should be responsible people, almost "senators," stressed Shumeyko.

Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Nikolay Ryabov stressed the danger of territorial associations. In his opinion, federation subjects can settle their differences through compromises and cited as an example the proposal of Viktor Stepanov to nominate deputies from republics, regions and autonomous districts deputies of the Federation Council chairman.

Roundup of Federal Assembly Proceedings

PM1201103594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Reportage from the Federal Assembly Chambers' Sitting" by R. Minasov, Ye. Skukin, and ITAR-TASS under the general heading "We Wish You Success, Russian Parliament!"]

[Excerpts] Following his address at the opening of the Federation Council's first sitting, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin proposed that, until a chamber chairman is elected, the "reins" be handed over to the oldest deputy. This proved to be Peasants Party Chairman Yuriy Chernichenko, elected from Moscow City District. The chamber members voted that he take the chairman's seat.

In his turn, Yuriy Chernichenko proposed an expansion of the structure of elders and invited Yuriy Matochkin and Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov, heads of administration of Kaliningrad and Sakhalin Oblasts, respectively, to take their seats behind the presidium table, "thus encompassing all of Russia, from coast to coast."

Having elected, in accordance with the agenda, the sitting's first working organ, the deputies heard a report from Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission. Having emphasized that "the elections to the Federal Assembly were for the first time ever free from ideological fetters," he briefed deputies on the course of the election campaign which "disproved the prevailing opinion about the Russians' passiveness and lack of interest in politics." The Central Electoral Commission chairman presented a statistical sketch of the composition of the corps of deputies. It includes people of 29 nationalities, 76 percent of whom are Russians. The age of one-half of the chamber's members ranges between 25 and 50 years. There is a total of nine women. All have higher education, except two whose higher education has not been completed. Some 80 percent of deputies have described themselves as nonparty members. More than 50 percent are representatives of organs of executive power. The new chamber contains 49 former Russian Federation people's deputies.

A Credentials Commission was elected to verify the deputies' mandates.

Our new parliament resembles a large ship, only just launched from the stocks to face the gales and storms. The next few days will tell whether its cruise will be propitious and successful, whether it will manage to safely navigate the reefs and shoals.

For the time being, however, everything appeared more than propitious on the surface at the first sitting of the State Duma, which was held at the former City Hall building on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment yesterday, 11 January: Deputies wore generous smiles and warmly greeted one another. Even though it is an open secret that the seeds of confrontation were already sown long before the start of the State Duma's work, especially as regards the distribution of leadership positions in the lower chamber and its committees, as well as its standing orders.

God grant that these seeds do not produce luxuriant and poisonous shoots! After all, what we need is not a shooting and maliciously growling parliament, but a lawmaking and sensible one. Will the State Duma, disbanded on four occasions in the course of its history, this time manage to at long last adapt to conditions in the Russian political field?

We addressed this question to Sergey Yushenkov (Russia's Choice):

"The Duma will survive because, in accordance with the new Constitution, its functions and powers are clearly defined. It has two powerful levers to influence the executive branch: lawmaking and the budget."

Stanislav Zhebrovskiy, deputy chairman of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]:

"We will be a constructive force. Our party is in opposition to the government, but we intend to become a constructive opposition. We intend to act autonomously, without joining any blocs."

Vasiliy Lipitskiy (independent):

"There are grounds to assume that the State Duma will survive. There will be a problem as regards the way relations will develop between lawmakers, the president, and the executive branch. I would very much like to see them being proper from the very first day."

Let us look around us in the few minutes remaining until the opening of the first sitting. As always, the journalistic fraternity's attention is focused on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. He is surrounded by a solid crowd of photographers, television reporters, and correspondents with their tape recorders, making it impossible to get close to him. One of our colleagues sadly remarked: "We are creating his own image."

LDPR member Georgiy Lukava opened the sitting on behalf of the State Duma elders. He congratulated the deputies on the start of their work and expressed the hope that it will be fruitful and coordinated.

Georgiy Lukava then gave the floor to Russian Federation Government Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin. [passage omitted covered by referent item]

Aleksandr Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, delivered a report on the results of the December elections to the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the Constitution. He announced that 439 deputies of the 444 elected to the State Duma have been registered as present.

Let us return to the topic raised earlier in this reportage. Despite the diversity of political views, most deputies assume that the State Duma will actually prove capable of functioning. This is what the well-known economist Pavel Bunich said:

"I think that the technological market laws, which are most important for the country, will 'gallop through,' as the saying goes. The ideal and, in my view, attainable result in politics is to achieve neutrality."

Independent Deputy Anatoliy Dolgopolov, field ataman of Labinskiy Cossack Okrug, also advocates consolidation:

"The main point is to change course from the destructive tendencies in reform implementation to constructive politics. We cossacks uphold the Russian people's interests and support firm presidential rule. We would like to work the land, not to fight as Zhirinovskiy would have it.

"We have spent so long fighting, that it is time to start rebuilding that which has been destroyed."

The agenda of the first sittings includes questions concerning the ratification of the provisions of the State Duma's Standing Orders on factions and deputies' groups and the formation of factions and deputies' groups, the election of State Duma chairman and deputy chairmen, the formation of committees and the election of their leaders, the adoption of the State Duma Standing Orders, and the ratification of the list of urgent questions for the State Duma's first session.

The evening sitting was adjourned indefinitely due to the chairman's total incapacity and incompetence. Deputies proposed that Chairman Georgiy Lukava be replaced and that the future chairmanship of sittings be assigned to the State Duma Secretariat.

Yeltsin Aide Expects Confrontation With Parliament

LD1101144594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The Russian president's press secretary, Vyacheslav Kostikov, told journalists that Boris Yeltsin had fears about the work of the new parliament, but pinned great hopes on it. He also said that the information about consultations in the parliamentary factions suggests that the work of the new parliament, above all the State Duma, would not be easy.

"Confrontational moods may triumph," he said. He noted, however, that the new Constitution gave the president enough powers to prevent revenging forces in the parliament from fully expressing themselves.

Kostikov told Interfax that the president's attitude to both chambers was positive. "Yeltsin is the president of all Russian citizens and respects the choice of the nation, however contradictory it might be," he said.

Upper Chamber Speaker To Be Elected by Secret Ballot

LD1101164294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The Federation Council's Credentials Committee, which was elected today at the first meeting of the new Russian parliament's upper chamber, recognized the powers of all 171 deputies elected to the Federation Council of the first convocation. Under the Constitution, the Federation Council is to consist of 178 lawmakers, however the ballot in Tatarstan and the Chelyabinsk region was declared invalid and new elections are to be called there, Chechnya did not hold parliamentary elections at all, and one deputy only has been elected in the Yamal-Nenets autonomous district so far.

After their rights were confirmed, the lawmakers elected working bodies of the first meeting—a secretariat, a vote-counting commission which is to count the votes until the conference hall is computerized, and an editing commission.

Then the deputies passed on to discuss a procedure for the Federation Council's first meeting. The discussion was quite calm and short. Even the item on a procedure for electing the upper house speaker did not provoke heated debates, although the vote itself is likely to become the most acute and difficult event at the meeting. The gathering agreed that candidatures for the post of chairman are to be nominated by deputies by secret ballot. Only one name can be written on the ballot. To become the Federation Council chairman, a deputy must poll over half the total votes. A special reservation stipulates that the speaker and his deputies cannot represent one and the same subject of the Federation.

When discussing the issue of "notorious quorum" and keeping in mind the constant lack of it at sessions of the former Supreme Soviet legislature, the lawmakers ruled that "a meeting is regarded as having legal powers if the attendance is no less than two thirds of the elected deputies".

Shumeyko Leads 4 Candidates for Upper Chamber Speaker

LD1101171494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Four out of 17 candidates will run on Wednesday for the post of the speaker of the upper chamber of the Russian parliament, the Federation Council, and First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko is clearly in the lead.

On Tuesday 78 deputies nominated Shumeyko for the post and he needs 86 votes to become the speaker, a half plus one vote of 171 registered members of the upper chamber.

The other three candidates are far behind Shumeyko. Petr Romanov, director of a plant in the Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk, was nominated by 13 lawmakers, Eduard Rossel, former head of the Sverdlovsk region and a staunch advocate of the Ural republic idea, got 10 votes, while former Industry Minister Aleksandr Titkin - 6.

Shumeyko told TASS that he would not quit the race even if lawmakers insist on that. "I do not intend to withdraw my candidature even if I am offered to", he said.

Shumeyko To Quit Government Post If Elected Speaker

LD1101180294 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Federation Council deputies today drew up a ballot paper for the election of the chairman of the upper chamber of parliament. [passage omitted] In order to be elected speaker of the Federation Council, it is necessary to receive 86 votes, INTERFAX points out.

In an interview with that agency, Vladimir Shumeyko declared that, if elected, he will leave the post of first vice premier of the Russian Government.

According to Shumeyko, a decision will soon be adopted in the Federation Council according to which the leadership of the chamber, unlke ordinary deputies, will operate on a permanent basis.

Federation Council Discussing Election of Speaker

LD1201113294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1036 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The second day of the Federation Council's session began today with the discussion of candidates to the post of speaker of this higher chamber of the new Russian parliament. There are four candidates—Pyotr Romanov, director-general of a Krasnoyarsk production society, Eduard Rossel, former head of the Sverdlovsk Regional Administration and currently president of the association for the Ural Region's economic interaction, Aleksandr Titkin, former minister of industry and currently president of a financial-investment company, and Vladimir Shumeyko, first vice-premier of the Russian Government.

The secret nomination of candidates, held the day before, showed that Shumeyko is an absolute leader. Seventy-eight out of the 161 deputies, who took part in the nomination, entered his name in the voting ballot. Thirteen deputies backed Romanov, 10—Rossel, and six—Titkin. The number of nominated candidates reached seventeen, but the rest preferred to withdraw their candidatures.

A secret vote to elect the speaker will be held today at the morning meeting, after the candidates take the floor and are discussed.

According to the procedural rules of the first council session, adopted on Tuesday, "a candidate will be deemed elected, if he polls more than fifty per cent of the votes of elected members of the council as a result of a secret vote".

Conflict Ensues Over Chairman of Duma Session

Lukava's 'Bias' Cited

LD1101164794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1350 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By Itar-Tass correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 11 Jan—Deputies from democratic factions are dissatisfied with the way the State Duma began its work, mainly due to the inexperience of an LDPR [Liberal Democratic party of Russia] member Georgiy Lukava, who is chairing the session, and his clear bias toward some parties. They believe that the establishment of a 50-seat minimum during the formation of factions will lead to the centrist parties being defeated and to the opposition playing a domineering role in the parliament.

The sitting of the State Duma, which opened at Moscow's Mayoralty this morning, focused on the struggle around the establishment of the minimum number of seats in a faction. While representatives of democratic groups favour a 20- or even a 14-seat minimum, the LDPR, the Communist party, the Agrarian party, and the Democratic Party of Russia advocate the introduction of a 50-seat minimum. [passage omitted]

Replacement of Lukava Demanded

LD1101150694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1431 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan—The atmosphere in the State Duma building deteriorated sharply today immediately on resumption of work after the daytime break over a conflict concerning the person in the chair.

A number of deputies immediately demanded that Georgiy Lukava, a deputy from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], be replaced as chairman of the session as, in the view of many, his lack of experience meant he was not up to the task. In accordance with the Constitution, Georgiy Lukava opened the first session of the State Duma as the oldest of the deputies, and it was thought that he would chair the session until a speaker was elected.

Some deputies suggested that Georgiy Lukava should give up his place to one of the more competent deputies by means of a Duma resolution. However, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the LDPR leader, from a microphone in the hall, gave the stand-in chairman a categorical instruction "to go nowhere, switch off the microphone, and not allow anyone onto the podium." He demanded that discussion of the issue of the numbers in a faction be resumed, having been stopped before the break, and if necessary that "the militia be called."

The indignant deputies protested and refused to take part in the electronic registration announced by Georgiy Lukava. As a result, the electronic board showed that there was no quorum several times in a row. The first session of the State Duma continues—for the time being—in a less than constructive spirit.

Deputies Expect Controversy Over Speaker Election

LD1101173394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 11 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Election of speaker of the lower chamber of the Russian Parliament will not be smooth; such is the opinion of many chiefs and member in groups of various parties in the Duma whose first meeting opened on Tuesday.

They wish this post to be filled by a representative of some small parliamentary group. ITAR-TASS learned this from a number of interviews at the first meeting of the State Duma.

The speaker will not emerge after the first round, believes Kirill Ignatyev, representative of Russia's Choice bloc. He believes that the nomination of a candidate by one of small parliamentary groups would be most suitable. Russia's Choice would support a number of candidates from such groups. It does not insist on its own candidate. "Should an aggressive majority of forces which can pursue the ideology of national exclusiveness, war and violence form, Russia's Choice bloc will have to offer its own candidate", Ignatyev said. The main task in parliament is to prevent decisions that could reverse economic transformations.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy noted that the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin group is in favour of speaker from a small parliamentary group. He believes that in such case, speaker will be the least inclined to a standoff with large groups. He said that the priority task of groups in the lower chamber is to ensure normal operation of the parliament. He does not expect such a speaker to be elected promptly so that the regulations could be adopted and work begun.

Nicolay Travkin, head of the group of the Democratic Party of Russia, said that organising groups of deputies in the Duma is the main task at the first stage of its work. The election of speaker will depend on agreeing on a package. Unless such an agreement is reached, there will be voting on each individual candidate, and anyone can be elected. Travkin stressed the Democratic Party sees as its main task in parliament to turn it into an element of tranquillity and stability in the political life. Among the priorities of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party will be the question of combatting crime. The choice of allies will depend on the matter at hand.

Leader of the parliamentary group of the Agrarian Party of Russia Mikhail Lapshin believes that the elections of speaker may pass smoothly and promptly if most of the groups of deputies show goodwill.

He said there were signs of goodwill before the opening of the Duma, and agreements could have been achieved if it were not for destructive stand of some groups of deputies. Among priorities of the group Lapshin named measures to protect the interests of peasants and the introduction of the passage of proposals connected with the functioning of the agroindustrial complex. The group of the Agrarian Party is prepared to cooperate with all the groups including that of the Choice of Russia.

The parliamentary group of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is in favour of electing leading bodies of the Duma in a package, said the group's chief Gennadiy Zuyganov. He said that speaker could be elected form a small group and deputy speakers from large groups. He believes that each group could head one of the eight-ten committees. The leader of the Communist Party described the struggle for the change of the political and economic course, for conducting the "policy of construction, for the stabilisation of the political situation" as the parliament's chief task.

Shakhray: Speaker Needs 2 Deputies

LD1101191694 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Russian Unity and Accord Party, believes that Russia's Choice refusal to participate in consultations of major factions has given deputies from one-seat constituencies a better chance to be included in the management bodies of the State Duma.

In an interview to INTERFAX, he said that the proposal to elect candidates to all management bodies of the chamber on a basis of a single list would have little support. Sergey Shakhray said that the media and independent deputies favor individual and secret voting for every candidate.

He believes that the parliamentary chairman should have only two deputies, one from the party list and the other from a one-seat constituency.

Options for Duma Committee Assignments Eyed

PM1101152494 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 2

[Olga Gerasimenko article: "Today is the First Working Day of the New Russian Parliament. What Does Fate Have in Store for It? What is Best: A Good Council or a Strong Duma?"]

[Text] The State Duma deputies who have reached Moscow after overcoming every conceivable obstacle in the fight for seats still do not suspect that the main battle is yet to come. Each of them will have to fit into the unwieldy structure of the Duma and satisfy their own personal ambitions at the same time.

According to a plan existing at the Duma each deputy apart from the State Duma chairman, the deputy chairmen, and the chairmen of the factions, must be a member of one of its committees.

In all it is planned to create 18 committees. However, this figure changed constantly while the plan was being worked out. Representatives of the president's side actively promoted the idea of forming no more than 10 committees within the Duma each of which would be in charge of several global spheres simultaneously.

The present plan for the operation of the State Duma committees exactly reflects the structure of the executive branch of power (in the form of ministries and departments) which is designed to make it as easy as possible for parliament to perform its monitoring functions.

Undoubtedly the authors of the plan for the internal organization of the Duma copied much from the parliament disbanded by the president. Let us recall here that in the bicameral Supreme Soviet there were just over 250 deputies working on a permanent basis in 19 committees and eight standing commissions. These committees and commissions performed the functions of a primary filter carrying out the preliminary examination of draft laws. Similar functions will be inherited by the 18 committees of the State Duma. Furthermore, even the names of the committees have been changed only slightly. The really striking innovations are not very important: Now, for example, questions of constitutional legislation and human rights have been transferred to one committee (and not two as in the former Supreme Soviet).

On the other hand two new committees have appeared: one on the budget and taxes, the other on banks, credit, and money circulation. The new structure does not have a committee on the mass media but does have a committee on the organization of the work of the State Duma.

It is still not clear which principles will determine how deputies will be distributed among the committees. The factions' opinions vary on this score: Some think that the sole guiding principle should be the professional training of Duma members (but what about "Yabloko," for example, which has four specialists in foreign affairs): Others insist that you should only take into account the personal preference of the deputy himself (however, apparatchiks of the former Supreme Soviet still recall that out of the 1041 deputies in the former parliament 700 were registered with the committee for international relations). "Russia's Choice," "Yabloko," and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord have put forward their own approaches: Namely, to form committees on the principle of the proportional representation of the factions and independent deputies. The points system for evaluating posts in the Duma has been constructed according to this plan: The post of State Duma chairman is rated at five points, the deputy chairman at three points, the chairman of the tellers commission at two points, a committee chairman at one point, and his deputy at 0.5 points.

According to the author of this plan, each faction and deputies' group will receive a strictly defined number of points depending on the percentage of their representatives in the Duma.

The pro-president side is also proposing a voting mechanism based on that idea—the State Duma approves a list of committee chairmen and up to two deputies. Only after that is the composition of the committees as a whole approved.

It is already obvious now that the struggle for the posts of the chairmen of two of the 18 Duma committees—defense and international relations—will be the most keenly fought. The activity of these committees, given that the powers conferred on them (the defense policy of the Russian Federation and the ratification and denunciation of Russia's international treaties) will have the greatest impact including for the president. Incidentally, the posts of chairmen of those two committees are being regarded as on a par with the speaker of the lower chamber of parliament. V. Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], is definitely competing for the post of chairman of the international relations committee and with an ulterior motive.

Quite a few lances have been broken over the question of the Duma's leading organ. There have been different suggestions both for the actual title (presidium, conference, or council) and the mechanism for the formation of this organ. (Let me remind you here that the presidium of the former Supreme Soviet was formed from the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, his four deputies, and the chairmen of the two chambers, of the committees, and of the commissions as ex officio members).

It is planned to form the Duma council from the speaker, the deputy speakers (ranging in number from two to five), and representatives of the factions on the principle of proportionality. However, it is proposed that the chairmen of the committees will only be given a consultative vote.

Many factions tend to see the Duma council as a powerful link in the internal structure of the lower chamber.

Deputies have a legitimate interest in the solution of the question of the right to freely change factions within the Duma. The "Russia's Choice" deputies are unambiguously insisting on "feudal law" although they will surely hardly be able to enforce such a "political loyalty"—the resistance of the communists, agrarians, and the LDPR is too great.

Incidentally, it is quite likely that another faction, the ninth so far, will soon appear in the Duma under the leadership of Sergey Baburin, the independent deputy from Omsk. For that to happen he needs to unite at least 14 like-minded deputies around himself.

It only remains to be added that all the proposals on the organization of the Duma must unfailingly be approved by the deputies.

Deputies Comment on Beginning of State Duma

LD1101162194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] A leader of the Russian Communist Party's faction, ex- chairman of the Soviet parliament and member of the 1991 State of Emergency Committee Anatoliy Lukyanov, who was elected to the State Duma from the Smolensk Region, told Interfax on Tuesday that the beginning of the State Duma's work was a new stage in the life of society which could bring about signs of stabilization. Lukyanov is convinced that social stabilization largely depended on the policies pursued by the Russian president and was possible if the hopeless shock therapy was brushed away.

Leader of the Democratic Party, Nikolay Travkin, told Interfax that the current State Duma was the weakest legislative body in Soviet and Russian history. He said that the Soviet parliament was the strongest. The radical moods have triumphed and society has elected the most radical deputies to the parliament, he said. He noted, however, that the deputies' rigid organization and experience were the new parliament's strong points.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Democratic Party, who scored the greatest number of votes among the deputies representing political parties (23 percent), does not intend to discuss the October events or the legitimacy of the adopted Constitution as opposition deputies propose. "We must carry on," he told Interfax. Speaking about possible candidates to the post of the State Duma's chairman, Zhirinovskiy said that he would not vote for anyone except the representative of his faction, Vladimir Gusev. (Gusev was born in 1932. He is the vice president of the scientific and industrial corporation "Promyshlennik").

Yegor Gaydar, the leader of the Russia's Choice faction, said in an interview with Interfax that he did not support the idea of setting up a parliamentary commission for investigating the events in Moscow on October 3 and 4. He believes that the establishment of such a commission would violate the principle of division of power. He also said that his faction would support the candidacy of Russian ambassador to the U.S. Vladimir Lukin (the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc) to the post of the State Duma's chairman, although his faction was ready to support any other acceptable neutral candidate.

Another representative of Russia's Choice, Mikhail Poltoranin, stated that his faction would propose the candidacy of Sergey Kovalyov, a prominent human rights activist who led Russia's Choice during the elections. Poltoranin believes that if Kovalyov fails to score enough votes, his faction would vote for Lukin.

Chairman of the Karelian parliament and member of the Federation Council, Viktor Stepanov, believes that the post of speaker has been reserved for Moscow's representative. He also believes that this post will be contested by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and ex-chairman of the Moscow Council Nikolay Gonchar. Stepanov told Interfax, however, that the choice of the parliament speaker was the most acute problem and that debates would last for several days.

Stepanov does not rule out the possibility of creating factions in the Federation Council. In his opinion factions will be created on the basis of territorial and political principles. He also noted that representatives of the republics would pursue the policy of broadening and strengthening federalism.

President of Kalmykia and member of the Federation Council Kirsan Ilyumzhinov supports the idea of setting up a parliamentary commission for investigating the events in Moscow last October. He told journalists that the government's actions during those events must be qualified as anti-constitutional.

Ilyumzhinov believes that the Federation Council must ensure the consolidation of society, which is blighted with a deep crisis. "If economic recession continues and living standards continue to fall, social tremors will become inevitable," he said.

Duma Reaches Compromise on Faction Strength

LD1101173094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1612 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—After heated debate the Russian State Duma reached on Tuesday [11 January] a compromise on the first issue it had to solve—the minimum number for lawmakers to be able to register as an official parliamentary group.

The compromise set the figure at 35. The opposition proposed 50, while reformers insisted on 20.

Lawmaker Anatoliy Lukyanov, former Soviet parliament speaker, explained that the State Duma will consist of groups and factions which will enjoy equal rights. The minimum number of members for factions will be 14. This is the number of seats enjoyed by the Democratic Party of Russia which was the last among eight election blocs to overcome the five per cent hurdle in the December elections.

Another compromise was reached on the issue of the interim chairman. Several lawmakers called to replace Georgiy Lukava from the party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who they said is inexperienced in the job.

Now the session will be chaired by three oldest deputies in turn for two hours each—Vladimir Bokov, Sergey Kovalev and Georgiy Lukava.

The Duma also elected Sergey Stankevich, the sacked presidential aide, to head the interim secretariat consisting of 20 people.

Igor Bratishchev was elected head of the vote-counting commission while Grigoriy Bondarev became the chairman of the interim commission for procedural rules.

The interim secretariat will include five commissions—for registration of deputies' associations, for organisation of the Duma sessions, for registration of deputies' proposals, for public relations, for work with proposals on Duma's schedule.

Duma Sees 'Opening Skirmishes' Over Faction Rights

PM1101164994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Chugayev report: "In the State Duma, 11 January, 1000: Calls for Cooperation Against the Backdrop of the First Skirmishes"]

[Excerpts] The first sitting of the Russian State Duma passed off under the banner of a wish to avoid confrontation from the very beginning. This was the reason why the agenda comprised questions agreed in advance among the factions. Elections for the tellers' commission, the commission for overseeing the electronic ballot, and the provisional secretariat took place without any particular difficulties. [passage omitted]

It was expected that some differences of opinion might arise during discussion of the Central Electoral Commission's report, delivered by Deputy Chairman A. Ivanchenko. Among other things, he reported that a total of 444 deputies representing 32 nationalities had been elected to the State Duma (of which 430 were present for the first session), that 95 percent of them have higher or incomplete higher education, and that one in 10 deputies is a professor, academic, and so on. However, it was not this interesting information which proved the cause of conflict but rather the Central Electoral Commission's blatant attempt in delivering the report to preclude all questions associated with the election of deputies. Even the possibility of a proposal not to set up a credentials commission in the Duma but to transfer its functions to the Central Electoral Commission has not been ruled out. However, State Duma members are determined pretty unanimously to include a discussion of the Central Electoral Commission's Report in the agenda, so a credentials commission will probably be set up anyway.

Nevertheless, despite all the efforts, clashes in the opening hours of the Duma's work could not be avoided. As expected, the opening skirmishes took place in connection with the Statute on Deputies' Factions.

During preliminary consultations, deputies were unable to reach accord in respect of the minimum number of deputies required in order to secure the right to set up a faction. Communist representatives suggested that the ceiling be raised to a minimum of 50. Communist Leader G. Zyuganov justified this stance by saying that a multitude of small radical factions and groups will otherwise take shape in the Duma and paralyze its work as a result. Democratic Party of Russia Leader N. Travkin spoke in support of this.

Their opponents' proposal to reduce the minimum to 14 was put forward by "Russia's Choice" and supported by Shakhray's party, as well as supporters of "August" represented by I. Khakamada. As for the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], its leader, Zhirinovskiy, adopted an emphatically neutral stance, declaring that any outcome would satisfy him.

There has already been occasion in the preceding edition to write about the reasons behind the tension. The matter concerns the plans of "Russia's Choice." If it is decided to form factions comprising 14 deputies, "Russia's Choice" may split into several amicable factions in order to strengthen its influence in the Duma.

Among other things, a faction leader has the right of access to the microphone out of turn, plus other privileges. Of course, this situation does not benefit the Communists and the Agrarians. The situation is further complicated by shortcomings in the electronic balloting system, as well as many deputies' dissatisfaction that it was an LDPR representative who chaired the sitting. By the time the first recess began, passions were noticeably stirred.

As a result, the nigh-on hour-long debate failed to culminate in accord despite the well coordinated actions of the Communists and the Agrarians in defending a quota of 50 people. The 20-man quota supported by the democratic factions also failed to attract a majority of votes.

State Duma Takes Break, To Reconvene 13 Jan

LD1101164694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1623 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The Russian State Duma has announced a day and a half break to convene again at 12:30 [0930 GMT] on January 13.

The break was suggested by Deputy Sergey Shakhray, who said deputy factions, groups and their leaders need some time for organizational work in view of the upcoming elections of the State Duma speaker and his deputies, formation of the State Duma committees and election of their heads and adoption of the State Duma time-limit.

Deputies have agreed to hold their morning sessions from 10 a.m. through 2 p.m. With a 30-minute break at noon and afternoon sessions from 4 p.m. through 6 p.m.

Faction Leaders Assess First Day of State Duma

LD1101175394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The sitting of the State Duma "is going on with numerous violations of general norms and rules, but this is a syndrome of the first day." This was the assessment of the State Duma's first day of work voiced by the executive secretary of the Russia's Choice faction Sergey Yushenkov in his interview with INTERFAX. In his opinion, one can already make a conclusion that one of the largest factions in the new Russian parliament, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (leader—Vladimir Zhirinovsky), "has good organization and discipline and acts exclusively in accordance with its leader's instructions."

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the bloc Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev- Lukin, believes that "the conflict in the State Duma will be a permanent one under the present structure of the parliament." At the same time, this will not affect the fate of economic reforms in Russia, he said. During his conversation with our INTERFAX correspondent he reminded that according to the Constitution adopted in December, all issues related to economic reforms had been handed over to the Russian president. "The reforms' future is in Mr. Yeltsin's hands," he noted.

Gennadiy Burbulis (Russia's Choice bloc) believes that there is a balance of political forces in the State Duma, there are about 50 percent of democrats and 50 percent of conservatives in it. He thinks that many radicals, including the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, came to the State Duma "with the aim to participate at the presidential 1996 elections." The Duma will be "a difficult and clamorous one but it will not abandon the legal political activity, which the deputies have acquired during the elections, another time," Burbulis is convinced. He again categorically spoke against any opportunity to cooperate with Zhirinovskiy and his party.

Leader of the communist party's faction Gennadiy Zyuganov estimates the beginning of the Duma's work as "a natural normal process of getting accustomed under the new situation" given the fact that "neither the chairman nor the deputies have appropriate experience of parliamentary work." However, he believes that the majority of the Duma's deputies demonstrate "sound sense and do not resort to excessive polemics." He hopes that today the deputies will manage to solve the issue on the number of factions and not to lower it to less than 35 people. Thanks to this, he said, we'll manage to gather leaders of deputies associations on Tuesday evening and develop a draft of joint proposals.

Mikhail Poltoranin (Russia's Choice) believes that the Duma works nonconstructively. Under this situation, he said in his conversation with our INTERFAX correspondent, "I would like to rise and say: Dear Misters, according to available information, there are still reserve tank shells in the Taman division, that's why, let us work more constructively."

New Deputies Define Own Approaches to Duma Session

PM1101163594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Statements by academician Aleksey Yemelyanov, State Duma deputy for "Russia's Choice" electoral bloc, and State Duma Deputy Konstantin Zatulin of Russian Unity and Accord: "What Is in Their Baggage?"]

[Text] Academician Aleksey Yemelyanov:

I wish to confess at once that the mood in which I will attend the first session of the Duma differs significantly from my mood in 1989. At that time we people's deputies of the former USSR attended the first congress inspired and full of hope. It seemed only necessary to be elementarily honest and to learn how to expose society's diseases uncompromisingly, and our life would change cardinally for the better. We were surrounded by a halo of glory and honor on the part of the voters, and this accounted for the euphoria with which we were overflowing.

Much has changed now. The times have changed, and our perception of the world has changed. Mere slogans about democracy are plainly insufficient to refashion life for the better. We have realized how responsible the post of deputy of the top organ of representative power nonetheless is. I will name just one of the lessons which we must not forget: Holding rallies and parliamentarianism are not one and the same thing. We are going to the Duma not to ascertain political predilections and sympathies but to get down to business. It is important that all deputies—both each individual deputy and those united in groups, factions, and blocs—advance to the fore not personal ambitions or a desire for power but the interests of Russia and its many millions of people.

We have no alternative but to seek accord. Our society was paralyzed by political confrontation. Russia's former parliament took virtually no steps to overcome political confrontation. Now, I believe, everyone has realized that destiny itself and life itself doom us to accord.

I hope that our work in the Duma will help to stabilize both society and our economy. There is no alternative to reforms. But a correction clearly must be made to the paths which they will take. The social thrust of the reforms must be strengthened. I absolutely agree with the president when he says that we have tried the people's patience long enough, that there is a limit to this patience. The reforms must be carried out in the future not by means of lowering the people's living standards. The opportunities for this now are broader than at the time when we were only starting the reforms.

I believe that together with the president and together with the government the deputies of the top legislative organ of power will be able to find the solution to key problems in our life. The "Russia's Choice" bloc is ready for this.

Konstantin Zatulin:

The consolidation of various parliamentary factions depends on the reinstatement of the center, which is kicked around by everyone. The center is the blue helmets who are capable of keeping extreme forces away from confrontation. In the sphere of creating a coalition the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] intends to orient itself toward groups of independent deputies representing industrialists, entrepreneurs, and autonomous entities. In particular, I am authorized by the party to hold talks with a number of political movements.

Insisting on the reform option which will not cause productive forces to be smothered, our faction will submit to the lower chamber a number of new draft laws concerning regulation in the budget-finance and tax spheres.

In the foreign policy sphere the party advocates Russia's reorientation away from distant toward nearby foreign parts and the creation of a confederation within the CIS framework. The draft of such a treaty is one of the ideas which we will attempt to get through the State Duma.

As the party of the provinces, we will devote many draft laws to regional policy. The powers and rights of the regions must be clearly outlined.

The PRUA has always supported the Constitution and the president and has been in favor of political stability and against all sorts of early elections and impeachments. The deputies of our faction are inclined to work for the whole term allocated to them by law and to instill order in the country by peaceful and legitimate means together with the president.

Communist Deputy Comments on Party's Attitudes

LD1201111394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The State Duma will resume its sittings on Thursday 13 January. Today, the pickets at the building of the State Duma expressed their liking for the deputies.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Aleksandr Lutskoy] About 100 supporters of the idea of communism and the restoration of the Soviet Union, under red banners and singing revolutionary songs to the accompaniment of accordions, gathered this morning near the building of the State Duma. The pickets chanted antigovernment and antipresidential slogans and expressed fervent approval of the communist deputies.

The latter, in turn, expressed gratitude for the support.

[Lutskoy, addressing Communist Deputy R. Gostev] You represent the Communists.

[Gostev] Yes.

[Lutskoy] What is your attitude toward the government? The present one?

[Gostev] It is a critical one.

[Lutskoy] Do you think we need a consolidation of all powers at present, both of the executive and the legislative powers?

[Gostev] Yes, certainly.

[Lutskoy] But if your attitude is a critical one what do you think should be done in respect of the present government?

[Gostev] We have a lot of questions for the government, and it is possible that finally a question on the resignation of the government will be raised.

[Lutskoy] Your attitude toward the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]?

[Gostev] I think that one should regard the LDPR as a party that exists. But I think that to say that this is a party of fascists, etc, I believe that is wrong. LDPR reflects..., with the stand that Zhirinovskiy has put forward he has managed to strike a chord with people.

[Lutskoy] The communist deputies, having talked to the gathering, went off to work in the Duma, while the pickets continued rallying. [end recording] [video shows people on the street carrying anti-government slogans, singing, shouting; also Gostev being interviewed and talking to the pickets]

Paper Profiles Main Duma Faction Leaders

PM1201111194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Federal Assembly: Combat or Cooperation? Leaders' Positions Stated. Will They Be Confirmed by Deeds?"]

[Text] The work of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly begins today. It seems that everything has been said, all priorities have been defined, and the accents have been placed. But at the same time there is a welter of questions. There are as many positions as factions, as many opinions as deputies. Our brief review will remind readers of what the main political blocs are bringing to parliament with them.

Gennadiy Burbulis, elected to the Duma from the Russia's Choice list, stipulates the position of his supporters in parliament as being the aim of "ensuring stability in the country without losing the fundamental course toward profound democratic transformations." He believes that it is dangerous for the reformist bloc not so much to remain in the minority as to "lose face in society and the confidence of voters."

Although the Civic Union did not clear the 5-percent barrier in the elections on party lists, its leader **Arkadiy Volskiy** expresses the belief that a Civic Union faction will be formed in parliament and will include at least 25-30 deputies, elected from single-seat districts. The centrists' leader is one of those politicians who believe that the government's voluntary resignation and the formation of a new one, which the president could entrust to Viktor Chernomyrdin, is necessary from the outset of the Federal Assembly's work. Despite the clear defeat of the "center" in the elections, Volskiy is pinning his hopes on the formation of an association of centrist forces in parliament, which could be a guarantee against the State Duma's political instability, primarily against right-wing "Zhirinovskiy" extremism.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, who on the eve of the elections put forward the formation of a strong political opposition in parliament as one of his association's main tasks, is now actively demonstrating the intention to cooperate with all parliamentary blocs. Commenting on the progress of talks with the three other biggest factions on the nomination of the speaker and leaders of parliamentary committees, he expressed the idea, not devoid of sophistication, that Communist deputies should defend "the interests of all factions," including Russia's Choice. What he possibly has in mind here is the proposal that representatives of each faction represented in parliament head one "key" committee each. One minor detail: This would mean sharing out these committees among factions without offending anyone and obtaining the support of all other Duma members.

The declaration of intent to cooperate constructively with political opponents could lead to a conflict with the program of priority initiatives elaborated by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation leadership, which include forming a State Duma commission to ascertain "the circumstances and socioeconomic and political consequences of the Belovezhskaya Agreements," and a number of draft laws of an economic nature aimed at changing the government's policy of reforms.

Alevtina Fedulova, chairman of the Union of Women of Russia, heads the Women of Russia faction in parliament. Her name is on the list of candidates for the speaker's post. What favors Fedulova is not only her membership of the "small" centrist faction, as a guarantee of political moderation, but also the fact that she belongs to the fair sex—a guarantee of sensible conservatism, thoughtfulness, and loyalty to all deputies. In the opinion of Fedulova herself the speaker's sex should not play a decisive role; the main condition is that the speaker must not be a person of "extreme" political convictions. In order for the State Duma to work constructively "its leader must be able to collaborate with everyone and not waste time on bickering."

"Disturber of the Peace" **Vladimir Zhirinovskiy** heads the Liberal Democratic faction, and after the elections retains the image of the most active politician among his deputies, having had time to tour Europe and cause a furor with his comments on the subject of international politics. In the State Duma Zhirinovskiy aspires at least to the chairmanship of the international affairs committee, and generally his appetites extend much further—he is prepared to head the Russian Foreign Ministry.

As regards the faction as a whole, according to Stanislav Zhebrovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, it "will not set itself the aim of confrontation" in parliament and intends to work in a regime of "constructive opposition." Evidently he deems the proposal for the State Duma to consider the draft edict on a general political and economic amnesty, including terminating the judicial proceedings in the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and absolving "from any type of responsibility" everyone who took part in the events of October 1993, to be one of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia's "constructive" initiatives.

Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, has reaffirmed his intention to run for State Duma speaker, because he considers himself one of the few people who can ensure collaboration between the legislative and executive branches and who "is capable of opposing Zhirinovskiy." The Party of Russian Unity and Accord, which has twenty votes in the State Duma, intends to preserve its organizational and political autonomy in parliament and "is not prepared" to enter into a coalition with "Russia's Choice." At the same time the Party of Russian Unity and Accord faction is ready to cooperate with everyone who in the Duma will adopt "a position of unity and accord in Russia" and with whom common ground is found during the passage of specific draft laws. Based on this position, Shakhray comes out sharply against the "pact" between major factions on cadre nominations in parliament and defends the rights of all factions as well as "independent" deputies elected from single-seat districts.

It is well known that the Party of Russian Unity and Accord parliamentary faction advocates the submission of the question of confidence in the government to the Duma and has already made such a proposal to the head of government. Shakhray stated that, if such a vote takes place, his faction will support Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The Democratic Party of Russia faction, headed by **Nikolay Travkin**, is seeking the formation of a political "center" in the State Duma to balance the "government" bloc and the extreme opposition. However, even now its leader's comments can be seen as establishing preconditions for the centrists not to play an autonomous role in parliament but to become a source from which the Agrarians and the Communists can draw additional votes, as was once the case in the Supreme Soviet. If a coalition is possible with parties which are actually of a democratic persuasion, it will only be so on individual questions, and the closest ally will be Yavlinskiy's bloc, with its strong social democratic element.

Nikolay Travkin, as leader of a small but well-structured party, advocates rigid factional discipline and the right of any faction to recall a deputy. In Travkin's opinion this rule should apply only to deputies elected from electoral associations' lists, and it does not violate their rights because "this principle is predetermined by the very multiparty nature of the elections."

The main task of the Federal Assembly's Agrarian faction, according to its leader **Mikhail Lapshin**, will be "to prevent land speculation and wastage" and strengthen state support for agricultural producers. The Agrarian Party, which has secured places for 21 deputies in the Duma from its lists, is counting on a large number of deputies joining it from the single-seat districts, thus increasing the faction to 60 seats. The Agrarians intend to submit to parliament draft laws on land and land use, on a switch to plan-regulated market relations in the agrarian sector, and on the social revival of the countryside.

A proposal to set up a commission to investigate the events of 3-4 October 1993 will probably be a political initiative of the Agrarians in parliament. "Parliament absolutely must make an assessment of the events...from the viewpoint of the Constitution" (presumably the old one), Lapshin has stated. "It is a fundamental matter for deputies.... Nobody must ever again be tempted to issue or carry out such commands."

The Russia's Choice bloc, in the opinion of its leader **Yegor Gaydar**, first deputy chairman of the government, is hoping "to wave goodbye to differences" and form a broad democratic coalition in the State Duma. Russia's Choice could find allies among antifascist forces of various orientations, not excluding the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. The Russia's Choice leader does not exclude the possibility of cooperating with the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, thereby taking a position distinct from that of Vyacheslav Kostikov and Mikhail Poltoranin.

The government, Gaydar believes, deserves criticism for the decisions which should have been made earlier, above all in relation to the fight against crime. The time has now come to reshuffle it, and Russia's Choice activity in the State Duma will be aimed at, among other things, identifying potential cabinet members.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the electoral association and parliamentary faction known by his name, believes that the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc will exercise the functions of an "independent, democratic, constructive opposition" in the State Duma. Defending the "basic values of democracy, freedom, and market economics," "Yabloko" advocates a tactical alliance with factions of a democratic persuasion, above all with Russia's Choice and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, but stresses its hostility to "unpredictability and explosive measures" in both politics and economics.

In the State Duma the Yavlinskiy bloc will advocate shifting the main emphasis in implementing reforms to the regions, developing competition and a competitive environment, straightening out the tax system, and pursuing mutually advantageous cooperation with the states which were previously part of the USSR. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy believes that only institutional changes in the economy can lead to stabilization. The fight against corruption will also be an integral part of the bloc's policy in the Duma.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, ex-speaker of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a defendant in the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, elected to the Duma from a single-seat district, has been taking a most active part in organizational work to prepare for the work of the lower house of parliament. His name is on the list of hypothetical contenders for the chairmanship of the house. Lukyanov's own opinion on this subject is that the candidate for the chair should be sought among deputies representing small factions. The speaker, Lukyanov believes, "must be a balanced person with a good command of questions of politics and juriusprudence, who can give balance to such an unbalanced Duma."

Materials froim newspapers, telegraph agencies, and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondents have been used in this summary.

TV Provides Details of Parliamentary Deputies

LD1101193394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A few interesting figures on the Russian parliament. Representatives of 22 nationalities have been elected to the Federation Council; 76 percent of deputies are Russian. Thirty-two nationalities are represented in the State Duma, where 82 percent of deputies are Russian. Nine women have been elected to the Federation Council, and about 50 to the State Duma.

Independent Deputies Seek Faction Status in Duma

PM1101130494 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Editorial office feature incorporating commentary by Gennadiy Kalistratov and Sergey Voskholov, members of the organizing committee of the Interregional Association of Independent Deputies of the Russian State Duma: "Independents Deprived of a Voice. Duma Not Yet in Session, but Confrontation Already Growing"]

[Text] It looks as if the renewal of parliament is not going to bring about a reconciliation. Reports are filtering through, little by little, about the maneuverings and dealings being conducted by the leaders of political parties and blocs on the eve of the State Duma's commencement of work. This was discussed in the item headed "Party Sword Hangs Over Duma" (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA for 4 January). Since its publication the independent deputies' fears have been confirmed, and they are being excluded from the formulation of major decisions on the Federal Assembly organizing committee. And now the newly formed Interregional Association of Independent Deputies has issued a trenchant statement.

The editorial office asked Gennadiy Kalistratov and Sergey Voskholov, members of the organizing committee of the association of "independents," to comment on this move.

"The statement was prompted by the fact that, for some reason, only the eight parties that crossed the 5-percent barrier have voting rights on the Federal Assembly organizing committee which is currently in session in the Kremlin making organizational preparations for the first steps in the State Duma's work. Our association, which was formed back in December, not only has no voting rights, but is being totally ignored, as if we did not exist. Absurd views are being expressed: that the political ideas and guidelines have already been formulated by the parties, while the independent deputies elected in the regions for single-seat districts are, so to speak, deliberately outside politics; your job, they tell us, is to work in the committees.

"Readers may think that we are inflicting petty parliamentary squabbles on the public. But no, this is a serious matter. This public denigration of the status of independent deputies compared with those who got in on the party lists prompts great anxiety.

"It is ridiculous to hear it said that the 'independents' are apolitical. True, they did not support a single political doctrine, but they are united on another, politically significant principle: 'The revival of Russia through the revival of the regions.' It is no accident that S. Shakhray has begun to show a keen interest in us, with his fundamental principle of emphasis on the regions.

"The parties' leaders realized that by uniting, the independent deputies—there are 140 of us—would become an influential force that could decide the passage of questions in parliament. The subsequent actions, alas, bordered on foul play. The parties' electoral associations described themselves as factions and declared that all other associations of deputies can be nothing more than groups. What a ludicrous initiative! It cannot be so, because factions have substantial procedural advantages over other types of associations of deputies, beginning with the power of diktat in the formation of the Duma's leadership organs. And that, of course, is the plan—to secure those advantages. Therefore our association of 'independents' has firmly declared its intention to register as a faction (of course, the faction of 'independents' will be distinguished by the absence of any kind of internal discipline or compulsion for the deputies belonging to it).

"When we 'independents' were elected, we never even thought about uniting to form some kind of wing. But in the light of this turn of events, more than 50 deputies from the regions (and 15 more have confirmed their desire to join us) got together and decided not to be fragmented in the parliament hall, but together to defend the stability of the Duma against unilateral party actions.

"Hand on heart, we say: This is really no time to engage in this struggle. Some 150 laws are already being examined, and must be seriously studied and adopted. It is necessary without delay to establish cooperation between parliament, the government, and the Central Bank, so as to continue to pursue economic reform, but without shock.

"Hence our statement. We demand that the formation of the Duma's leadership and working organs proceed not on the party principle, but on the faction principle, and that an obligatory secret ballot is used, ruling out the system of voting by 'packages' of proposals and lists of candidacies, as they are now trying to compel us to do."

Pollsters Assess Federal Assembly Prospects

PM1101130194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Articles by Yuriy Levada, leader of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions, and Nuzgar Betaneli, director of the Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism, under general heading: "It Is Difficult To Predict Situation in Federal Assembly but Sociologists Do Not Fear Difficulties"]

[Text] Before the start of the work of the Federal Assembly, the IZVESTIYA editorial office asked the leaders of well known sociological services to describe their expectations in connection with the start of the new parliament's work and to predict the possible development of events.

[Levada] Will the new parliament reflect the spread of opinions in society? How far will it be trusted? Today the answers to these traditional questions are uncertain and vague because the situation has ceased to be traditional. The type of public life which used to exist before and after the frontier of 1985-1989 no longer exists. Neither in society nor in parliament does there exist nor most likely will there ever exist a "leading and guiding force" and a people obedient to it. The forces seeking to fill the vacuum of trust and order are well represented in the deputies' corps. For all the haste and even random nature of its formation. How can we tell, perhaps the very uncertainty of the boundaries and program aims of the future factions will even benefit parliamentary activity: After all trial by jury, for instance, presupposes the completely random selection of jurors....

The accepted rules of the constitutional game do not promise the parliament a long life. But apart from the functions prescribed in the Constitution it has one more very important function—preparing elections of the president and the permanent, "real," parliament. I have in mind not so much legislative as social preparation, the formation of political forces and their presentation to society, the definition of leaders, authorities, and programs. Virtually all the declared contenders for the supreme state post (and a similar number who have yet to declare themselves) are now in parliament and they will have to constantly assert themselves to deputies and public opinion. And that means that the new parliament will have to be a school of politics and political struggle. The country's future depends to a considerable degree on what subjects are learned in this school and by whom.

[Betaneli] It is already obvious that the Federal Assembly threatens to become a source of at least two tough confrontations: confrontation within the legislative organ itself and "skirmishes" between the parliament and the president.

The institute's many years of study, first in the USSR parliament, then in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and also the all-Russia public opinion polls of voters before the recent elections make it possible to understand the nature of the future conflicts. They will be based on psychological, political, and ideological incompatibility reinforced by the traditional lack of parliamentary culture in society and the customary orientation toward conflict and force.

As before the members of the new parliament are distinguished by the diversity of their views, positions, and value orientations, the lack of an "overall picture of the world." To all appearances many parliamentarians will not consider Ambrose Bierce's joking warning: "Debate is the best way of confirming an opponent in his misconceptions."

We may perfectly well expect that either parliament or its individual factions will sharply oppose the Russian president. The majority of political parties and blocs represented in the federal Assembly are geared not so much toward lawmaking activity as toward preparation for the presidential elections and the creation of a situation which brings these elections closer.

But perhaps the most dramatic of future events is the "Zhirinovskiy effect": Since V. Zhirinovskiy's win at the elections many representatives of other parties and blocs will deliberately nor unwittingly copy the "winner's" style and his arguments and, in borrowing the symbols, run the risk of borrowing his orientation and values.

Regional Affairs

Moscow City Duma Opens First Session 10 Jan

LD1001162794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] The first official session of Moscow's Duma opened in the former building of the Mayor's office on New Arbat Street on Monday. The opening State Duma meeting will be held in the same premises on Tuesday. Taking part in today's session are 32 of the 35 deputies, elected by Muscovites on December 12, 1993.

In his opening address, 61-year-old Vladimir Plotnikov, the Duma's elder, said that the main task today was to adopt a statute of Moscow, which will become "a constitution for Moscow as a constituent part of the Federation." He also voiced hope that the relatively small membership of the Duma would guarantee its cohesion.

On Monday, deputies will discuss procedural matters, elect a speaker, and hear a speech by Konstantin Buravlev, the first vice-premier of Moscow's Government, who will discuss social and economic development and the budget for Moscow this year, report about temporary working groups, and announce an agenda for the next Duma session, scheduled for January 19.

New Train To Run Between Moscow, St. Petersburg

PM1201093594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 8

[Report by Yevgeniy Solomenko: "Swift 'Falcon' Will Bring Moscow and St. Petersburg Closer"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—The "Rubin" marine technology central design bureau has completed the development of the "Falcon" ["Sokol"] super-high-speed train.

This express train, which can cover 350 km in one hour, will run between St. Petersburg and Moscow. The plan has been handed over to the "Vysokoskorostnyye magistrali" Russian joint-stock company.

The superexpress is "Rubin's" first conversion venture. Until now the central design bureau has specialized in the creation of nuclear submarines and other warships.

Tatarstan's Shaymiyev Favors Kazan-Moscow Agreement

LD1101174594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] During the break in the work of the Federation Council, Tatarstan's President, Mintimer Shaymiyev, declared to Interfax that he had come to the chamber's session to participate in its work as a guest.

Shaymiyev expressed the opinion that if Kazan and Moscow sign a treaty before the additional elections to the Russian parliament scheduled for March 13, then Tatarstan's people will actively participate in the voting.

Elections did not take place on Tatarstan's territory on December 12 because less than 30 percent of electors came to the electoral districts.

"The factor of an agreement will play its decisive role in this issue and will finally determine whether the republics' representatives are elected to the Federation Council and State Duma," announced Shaymiyev. To this effect he expressed conviction that the treaty would be signed before March 13 and Tatarstan "will be represented in the new parliament."

According to Shaymiyev, relations between Kazan and Moscow should be grounded on the Basic Laws of the Russian Federation and Tatarstan and should be "agreement-constitutional ones."

Commenting on the Russian president's speech at the Federation Council's session, Shaymiyev said that "he met with great satisfaction the thesis stating that a strong Russia should consist of strong regions." "One should not fear to transfer authorities to the regions because as of today none of the regions tries to violate Russia's integrity," said Shaymiyev.

Yeltsin Appoints New Representative in Tomsk Region

LD1101174294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1634 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed Tuesday Anatoliy Kobzev as his representative in Tomsk region (central Siberia), the press-service of the president reported. By another presidential decree, Yeremeiy Aipin was dismissed from his post of a president's representative in the Khanty-Mansi autonomous district as elected to the new Russian legislature. [sentence as received]

Kabardino-Balkar Constitution Changes Approved

PM1101115794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Report by Nikolay Gritchin: "Kabardino-Balkaria Constitution Brought Into Line With Russian Constitution"]

[Text] Kabardino-Balkaria President V. Kokov has suggested to the republic's parliament that it alter and supplement the articles of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic so that it complies with the new Russian Federation Constitution.

After a close study of the president's package of proposals at separate sessions of the chambers and in conciliation commissions, the republic's parliament has approved them.

Khabarovsk Kray 'Inner Soviet' Dissolved

LD1101140994 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] As of today, the activities of the Khabarovsk Kray inner soviet are discontinued. RIA reports that a resolution on this was signed by Viktor Ishayev, the head of administration of Khabarovsk Kray . Meanwhile, the apparatus of the dissolved soviet will function until 13 March. Elections to the kray's bodies of representative power and local self-government are to be held on that day. It is anticipated that specialists on the apparatus of the former inner soviet will help organize the elections and hand over documentation to the new body.

Khabarovsk Kray Communists Hold Plenum

OW1101082894 Khabarovsk Radio Khabarovsk Network in Russian 0945 GMT 10 Jan 94

[From the "Kray News"]

[Text] The Gorkom [city committee] of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation has held a plenum in Khabarovsk. It discussed the results of the elections to the Federal Assembly, the referendum on the draft Constitution, and the party's preparations for elections to the kray Duma, and the local self-governing bodies. The communists discussed the nomination of possible deputies, both party and nonparty members. The plenum examined the issue of accounts and elections within the party organizations directed at further strengthening the party ranks.

Kuban Small Council To Seek Help From State Duma

LD1101160494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Zhilyakov]

[Text] Krasnodar January 11 TASS—A group of members of the Small Council of the Kuban intends to seek support from the State Duma and also to institute legal proceedings against governor of the territory, Nikolay Yegorov. Yegorov had signed a decree terminating as of this Tuesday the powers of The Territorial Council of People's Deputies. The apparatus of the council is dissolved. Elections to the Krasnodar territory are to be held on April 3. Until the beginning of the work of the future parliament, matters in the competence of the Territorial Council are to be decided by the head of the territorial administration.

Youngest Lawmaker Elected Speaker in Mari El

LD1101190694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1704 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kokukhin]

[Text] Ioshkar Ola, January 11 (TASS)—The youngest lawmaker was elected the speaker of the parliament of the Republic of Mari El in central European Russia.

Anatoliy Smirnov, who has not yet turned 30, defeated former speaker Yuriy Manakov who boasts the highest popularity rating in the republic, according to the latest opinion polls.

Smirnov made a typical Soviet-Russian style career. He began as an ordinary worker, but then switched to Komsomol, the youth branch of the former Soviet Communist Party, and succeeded to raise to the post of the secretary of a district party committee.

However, when market reforms began in the country, Smirnov abandoned the Communist post and went to work in a commercial bank and after that to a property managing fund which organised privatisation.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Lauds Partnership for Peace Plan

WS1101164694 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1525 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kiev on 11 January]

[Text] The highest level meeting of NATO member states in Brussels has adopted the Partnership for Peace program. This document includes an appeal to former members of the Warsaw Pact and other European countries to participate in the program. The appeal of NATO member countries has been adopted at a difficult time, when some parts of the continent are sowing the seeds of conflict, and the majority of Central and East European countries are alarmed by the lack of structural mechanisms for security in this region.

Ukraine believes that the proposal of NATO countries to implement the Partnership for Peace program is a timely and broad-minded step in the right direction which will enable all interested countries to begin practical work on concrete political and military cooperation with NATO. Ukraine sees great interest in the development of such cooperation, and will cooperate with NATO and its member countries to the full extent within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program. Ukraine embraces with understanding the NATO initiative, which does not draw new lines of partition in Europe, while leaving the door to NATO open and serving as an instrument to gradually expand the organization eastward. Ukraine thinks that NATO is able to play a serious role in developing a reliable and all-embracing system of European security; Ukraine is ready to make a considerable contribution to the development of new architecture of security. The active participation of Ukraine in the "Partnership for Peace" program will assist in this process.

Clinton Scheduled for Short Stopover in Kiev

LD1201105694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1017 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Efim Schwarzmann]

[Text] Kiev January 12 TASS—President Bill Clinton is due to arrive in Kiev, capital of Ukraine at 19.00 p.m. on Wednesday, despite fears that his "hastily-arranged stopover in Kiev could prove tougher than he thought" by thick fog which could make his landing difficult in the Ukrainian capital.

Sources from among the Ukrainian presidential staff told ITAR- TASS Clinton's stop-over will last for about two and-a-half hours.

The American and Ukrainian presidents are expected to discuss bilateral relations, military political problems and international security.

After the talks, President Clinton will board Air Force One en route to Moscow. President Leonid Kravchuk will join his and President Yeltsin in the Kremlin on January 14 for a trilateral summit which is expected to culminate in the signing of documents, which will ease tension in relations of the three countries.

No Accord Signings Expected During Stop

LD1101153094 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1336 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—As Yuriy Serheyev, head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Information Directorate said at a news conference on 11 January citing U.S. Senator Albert Gore [name and title as received], a definitive text of the trilateral negotiations document has not been drawn up in Washington. During Bill Clinton's meeting in Kiev, the main subject of the consultations will be a discussion on a wide range of issues concerning bilateral relations. "Taking into account that Bill Clinton's visit to Kiev will be short, the signing of a document is not envisaged either," said Serheyev.

During their stay in Washington, members of the Ukrainian delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Valeriy Shmarov met, in the White House, U.S. President Bill Clinton; Anthony Lake, adviser to the president on issues of national security; and R. Nicholas Burn, special assistant to the president and senior director, Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian affairs. The issue of expanding both countries' economic relations, problems of a military and political nature, and the issue of international security were discussed during the meeting.

At the U.S. State Department, the Ukrainian delegation held negotiations with State Secretary Warren Christopher, First Under Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, and Under Secretary of State Lynn Davis concerning issues of developing economic cooperation between both countries. The U.S. side expressed readiness to help economic reforms in Ukraine, in particular to grant aid for the implementation of the government's market reform program.

Considerable attention was devoted to discussing the program of negotiations by a Ukrainian Government economic delegation that will visit Washington at the end of January. The Ukrainian delegation also held consultations at the U.S. Department of Defense where its members met William J. Perry, first deputy defense secretary and John Shalikashvili, chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff. During the meeting the sides discussed cooperation between both countries in the military sphere, in particular in the sphere of disarmament and conversion of Ukraine's defense complex. The signing of a bilateral statement on the principles relating to the creation of a U.S.- Ukrainian committee on conversion of the defense industry took place in the Pentagon.

Reasons for Clinton Refusal To Visit Kiev Assessed

PM1101101994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1,6

[Article by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Will Clinton Be Persuaded To Visit Kiev?"]

[Excerpts] On 12-15 January, after the NATO summit conference in Brussels, U.S. President William Clinton will visit Russia for the first time since his election. The agenda for his talks with Boris Yeltsin is known: questions of security in Europe and the world, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and settlement of regional conflicts, questions of bilateral relations, mutual exchange of information on the development of the countries they represent.

On learning of the visit in advance, the Ukrainian leadership tried to amend it, proposing that Clinton visit Ukraine. The Washington Administration explained to the Ukrainians that President Clinton considers it more expedient to visit the capital of Belarus, which is unconditionally fulfilling the international pledges it has made on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. And Washington sees this as a most important principle in the creation of a system of collective security in Europe ad in the world as a whole.

The content of what were unsuccessful talks for the Ukrainian leadership was made public. This resounding diplomatic slap in the face showed who is master of the present situation. It was made clear to Kiev officials that Washington is not merely unhappy with Kiev's behavior, but is annoyed and does not consider it necessary to conceal its annoyance. What is this unusual situation all about? [passage omitted]

The world community's concern is understandable. Following the breakup of the USSR, 130 SS-19 ICBM's, each with six warheads, 46 modern missiles, each with 10 warheads, 564 cruise missiles, and 30 strategic bombers with 416 warheads on board were left on the territory of the Ukraine. That makes 1,656 warheads in all. That is greater than the French, British, and Chinese nuclear arsenals put together. So Ukraine is the world's third biggest nuclear power (after the United States and Russia).

In Ukraine's current conditions of political instability this nuclear potential could be a threat to European security. The public in neighboring countries knows, for example, that the founding session of the Ukrainian National Fascist Party took place in December in the Officers' Club in Lvov. It said that its aim is the forcible expansion of Ukrainian borders by conquering part of the territory of Russia, Belarus, Poland, and the Baltic states. We know how nervous the West was when it heard the results of the elections in Russia and of Zhirinovskiy's party's success in them. What if the elections in Ukraine in March follow the Russian model?...

Of course, the situation does not appear dangerous at the moment. As is known, not a single missile in Ukraine can be launched without Russia's consent, since the keys to the launch codes are in Moscow. But it is also known that Ukrainian specialists have been trying secretly for a year to decipher the codes. What if they decipher them and start blackmaining the West in an attempt to extort financial compensation?

The United States is obviously seriously concerned about this prospect, aware of the true reasons why Kiev is clinging to the nuclear weapons. It was obviously no accident when John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff, recently let drop that defense against Russia is certainly not the reason why Kiev wants to keep the nuclear weapons on its territory.

Is that not why Bill Clinton himself telephoned Leonid Kravchuk on 30 November to complain about Ukrainian policy in the sphere of its position on nuclear weapons?

Russia's position on this question is clear and it has been repeatedly expressed by President Yeltsin and Andrey Kozyrev: Ukraine must not join the club of nuclear powers. To all appearances, we are at one with the leading powers of the West, in particular the United States, on this question.

The United States and Russia are not shutting Kiev out of a dialogue on this question. According to the information that is available, although Clinton has refused to go to Kiev during his Jaunuary trip, he will allow the organization of a tripartite meeting involving the three presidents on the question of dismantling Ukraine's nuclear missiles. So it is very possible that Leonid Kravchuk will be invited to Moscow during the 12-15 January period.

Party Leader Criticizes Clinton's 'Diktat'

LD1201102694 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0753 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jan—Serhiy Plachynda, the chairman of the Peasant Democratic Party of Ukraine [SelDPU] has stated that U.S. President Bill Clinton's declaration that a trilateral agreement on nuclear weapons is to be signed in Moscow, is none other than a diktat and that it grossly interferes in Ukraine's internal affairs.

"Clinton ought to think about the fact that Ukrainian nuclear missiles are a guarantor of peace worldwide, rather than just for Ukraine, as well as for Europe and America itself," said the SelDPU chairman.

"If Zhirinovskiy does come to power, he will not be fastidious in either utterances or actions, which is why there must be a deterrent, which is what Ukraine's nuclear weapons are. After a considerable section of Russians have followed Zhirinovskiy, having opted for fascism, to make such statements as that by Clinton is quite outrageous," SelDPU Chairman Plachynda pointed out.

Validity of Kiev Disarmament Accord in Doubt

Rukh Head: Kravchuk Cannot Sign Pact

LD1101145194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] "President Leonid Kravchuk has no authority to sign any interstate documents regarding nuclear disarmament," chairman of Ukraine's Popular Rukh, Vyacheslav Chernovil, declared in his interview with Interfax-Ukraine.

Chernovil also emphasized that "principles of Ukraine's nuclear policy were determined by parliament during the ratification of the START-I treaty with certain reservations." In Chernovil's words, "all leaders of the country, including the president, must adhere to this course."

"If Kravchuk signs an agreement on nuclear weapons during his meeting with Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin on January 14 in Moscow, it will have no juridical force," believes Chernovil.

Valentin Lemish, chairman of the parliamentary commission on defense and security, told journalists on Monday that the agreement to be signed by the three presidents in Moscow is subject for ratification by the Ukrainian parliament. According to Lemish, "if the agreement is in line with the parliament resolution on ratification of the START-I treaty, we shall have no questions."

Official: Final Draft Not Yet Complete

WS1101155794 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] A briefing was held today at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry in Kiev. Commenting on the possibility of signing any final document on eliminating nuclear arms on Ukrainian territory during the talks in Moscow between the U.S., Russian, and Ukrainian presidents—as hastily reported by Ostankino Television—and on a bilateral meeting between the Ukrainian and U.S. presidents, Yuriy Serheyev, chief of Foreign Ministry Information Department, in particular said:

[Begin Serheyev recording] As of today, I cannot say that a final document has already been drafted; I cannot say what form this document will take. That is why the scheduled tripartite conference in Moscow may have any form. If the final draft of the document is not completed, the Moscow conference is likely to be of consultative nature and aimed at coordinating aspects which still need to be coordinated. If the Moscow meeting manages to resolve uncoordinated issues, the document should take some form. I want to draw your attention to [word indistinct] commentaries, or I would rather say biased commentaries regarding the translation of Mr. Gore's statement which can be interpreted as an agreement or a treaty. As you see, at this stage, it is better to speak about a document rather than agreement or treaty.

Discussions over the form and essence of this document are still continuing, in Ukraine's governing circles as well. I want to stress that the Moscow summit will be preceded by a short meeting in Kiev. The possibility and likeliness of such a meeting were discussed very thoroughly through diplomatic channels. I also want to point out that as stated in yesterday's declaration by the Council of Ministers' and presidential press service, the main theme of the meeting will be the discussion of a wide range of issues concerning bilateral relations. This is very essential. Moreover, this statement is not unilateral; it was coordinated. There is a mutual desire on both sides to discuss bilateral relations at this meeting. This is not a bad example and not a bad result demonstrating that prospects are opening for a more constructive dialogue and more constructive relations with the United States in the spheres discussed in the course of Mr. Christopher's visit to Kiev. In particular [we should] balance our relations, direct them into the stream of military-political cooperation, and in the first place, economic cooperation. This visit once again emphasizes the attention paid Ukraine and importance of developing bilateral relations with her. Naturally, in the course of the Kiev meeting, issues tackled in Brussels and those to be tackled in Moscow will be discussed. [end recording]

Further Comments by Official

LD1101183294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] "I cannot say that a document for the U.S., Ukrainian and Russian presidents to sign in Moscow on January 14 exists," Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's spokesman Yuriy Sergeyev told journalists in Kiev.

In his words, "the document, in particular guarantees of Ukraine's security, is being drafted." He added that if the document is not drafted before Friday, the Moscow meeting will be consultative."

According to Sergeyev, the brief meeting of the U.S. and Ukrainian presidents in Kiev on January 12 will concentrate on the bilateral relations. "Ukraine and the United States want to have balanced relations which should emphasize the economic rather than the military and political sphere," he explained.

Sergeyev also explained that all treaties and accords that the Ukrainian president would sign must be ratified by the country's parliament.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet ratified START I with numerous reservations. The treaty provides for withdrawal of nearly 1500, or 16 percent, warheads and 176, or 42 percent, strategiic missiles from Ukraine.

Numerous national democratic deputies of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet have criticized the president's intention to sign a nuclear disarmament treaty in Moscow.

Government Still Plans To Sign Disarmament Pact

Trilateral Accord Expected 14 Jan

PM1201115394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast; video report by Vladimir Grigoryev]

[Text] [Announcer] Russia, Ukraine, and the United States are expected to sign a treaty in Moscow next Friday [14 January] on the complete elimination of the strategic nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory, U.S. President Bill Clinton said during a press conference in Brussels.

[Grigoryev] This statement really caused a sensation and has already elicited a positive response worldwide. The upcoming signing of the agreement follows intensive tripartite talks in Washington, which resulted in Ukraine's renouncing its nuclear potential.

As you know, following the breakup of the Soviet Union, Ukraine inherited 176 strategic missiles and 1,800 nuclear warheads. That constitutes a more powerful arsenal than those of France, China, and Britain together.

In return for dismantling their weapons, Ukraine's parliamentarians demanded that the West provide considerable financial aid for economic reforms and security guarantees, as well as compensation for the short-range tactical missiles that have been handed over to Russia. The talks in Washington showed that this was no time for bartering and that the whole world can benefit from the agreement. Nor will Ukraine lose out. It is to receive nuclear fuel for peaceful purposes. And Russia is to cancel Ukraine's enormous debt for energy sources. Finally, the United States will provide the republic with economic and technical aid, as well as guaranteeing its security.

The importance of the upcoming treaty signing is indicated by the fact that tomorrow, following a change in the initial program for his visit, Bill Clinton will meet President Leonid Kravchuk in Kiev in order to express his support. [video shows various items of military hardware, inside of bunker]

Official: Nuclear-Free Status Still Planned

LD1201120594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1117 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev, 12 Jan—President Leonid Kravchuk's firm intention that the sovereign Ukraine should become a nuclear-free state has been confirmed once more today by Viktor Stelmakh, head of the press service of the Ukrainian president and Cabinet of Ministers, in a telephone conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent. The president acts consistently in the spirit of the resolution, passed by the country's Supreme Council, on Ukrainian ratification of the well-known treaty on the destiny of the nuclear weapons on its territory, the head of Kravchuk's press service pointed out.

The occasion for the conversation at 0930, during which a real official statement was made, was the coming visit to Ukraine today of U.S. President Bill Clinton for a meeting with Kravchuk. The head of Kravchuk's press service said Clinton's arrival from Prague was expected here this evening at 1900 and his stay would last about two and a half hours. The Kiev dialogue would center on fundamental questions for the signing in Moscow, currently in preparation, of the trilateral treaty on nuclear weapons.

Deputy Rukh Chairman Against Nuclear Disarming

LD1101170394 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1336 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—"I have no conclusive information about what was achieved by [Deputy Prime Minister] Shmarov and [Deputy Foreign Minister] Tarasyuk in Washington," said Oleksandr Lavrynovych, the deputy chairman of the People's Movement of Ukraine [Rukh], interviewed by a UNIAN correspondent on 11 January. "All this, however, is reminiscent of the corresponding period in the history of the Ukrainian People's Republic. If Ukraine really gives up its nuclear weapons by being promised some mythical compensation, and not just gives them up, but removes its weapons to Russian territory, it will be a step that will be conducive to the liquidation of Ukraine's statehood."

Party Leader Wants Retention of Nuclear Arms

LD1101172294 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1551 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jan—Anatoliy Shybiko, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party, noted in an interview with a UNIAR correspondent that without having in front of him the agreement on liquidating Ukraine's nuclear arsenal and without understanding its point, it would be premature to give a preliminary assessment of this agreement. In his opinion, a final assessment of the agreement should be given only after a text of the agreement between Ukraine, Russia, and the United States becomes available. Mr. Shybiko is deeply convinced that Ukraine should remain a nuclear state for the near future and should accede to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons as a nuclear state.

Nationalists: 'We Do Not Believe American Promises'

LD1101180094 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1551 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 11 Jan—"The position of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists on the question of nuclear weapons remains unchanged: for a nonnuclear Ukraine but in a nonnuclear world," stressed Mykhaylo Ratushnyy, member of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists leadership in an interview with a UNIAR correspondent. "In connection with the fact that the world around us is not nonnuclear, we are against signing an agreement between Clinton, Kravchuk, and Yeltsin." Mr. Ratushnyy noted that the Ukraine Republican Party considers the signing of an agreement on depriving Ukraine of its nuclear arsenal to be a betrayal of Ukrainian interests. "We do not believe American promises. America looks after its own interests first and foremost, and the Ukrainian Government should look after its Ukrainian interests, which it does not do."

Kravchuk Says Kiev Wants Close Ties With Baltics

LD1101181294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] President Leonid Kravchuk has said that Ukraine wants close economic and political contacts with Lithuania and other Baltic states. The Ukrainian leader believes, though, that the development of all-round relations with the Baltics aggravates both objective and subjective factors.

In an interview with the popular Lithuanian newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS Kravchuk described as an objective problem the painful transformations in the economy in the republic. As a result of such transformations, believes the president, it is difficult to maintain long-standing contacts among the republics. Kravchuk believes as subjective factors the passive attitude of the regions, enterprises and the governments.

Kravchuk believes that the situation may start improving following the meeting between the presidents and he invited the head of the Lithuanian state Algirdas Brazauskas to visit Ukraine at any time suitable for him. He is also prepared to visit Lithuania.

Asked by the newspaper to comment on the Lithuanian official statement to enter NATO, the Ukrainian president has favoured the initiatives "Partnership for Peace" and added that Ukraine would not object against Lithuania's entry to NATO, since we do not see in it any discomfort or strategic threat.

Kravchuk said that neither the United States nor Russia are interested to expand NATO. He explained his view by the fact that today large states, like the United States and Russia want to have zones of influence. Russia, believes the Ukrainian leader, attempts to retain in its sphere of influence former Soviet republics and the countries of the central and eastern Europe. He said that the methods to ensure the influence contradict those universally acknowledged.

The Ukrainian president has said that in principle he does not approve the division along these lines and added that large and small states should be equal partners. If so, we can rely on stability and lasting peace, and neighbourly relations, said Kravchuk.

Crimean Speaker: Only Russia Can Guarantee Stability

LD1101192094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The Crimea should not be allowed to turn into the hunting ground of political terror or another war zone in the former USSR, Nikolay Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean parliament, told INTERFAX-Ukraine. In his view, Russia alone can guarantee stability in the region. "The Crimea cannot be rescued outside an alliance with Russia or peaceful reintegration into our historic Motherland," he said.

Bagrov also said that a campaign designed to discredit the Russian Party of the Crimea and himself as a candidate had been launched in the runup to the presidential elections that are scheduled to be held in the Crimea on January 16.

He complained that once he refused to drop out of the presidential race or call on his supporters to vote for another candidate, "certain political forces resorted to psychological terror" against him threatening to kill him, his family and friends.

The Russian Party leader thinks that the opponents of a Russian Crimea will not stop at criminal methods. He said: "I had to call officially on the state authorities of the Crimean Republic, Ukraine and the Russian Federation to prevent turning the Crimean general elections into a pretext for political terror or violence which could provoke an explosion or armed conflict."

National Affairs

Violence in Crimean Election Campaign Increases

LD1101163994 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Our sources in Simferopol reported the Crimean presidential election campaign is increasingly assuming a scandalous and very physically violent nature with the contestants growingly relying on fist arguments. Thus last weekend witnessed a meeting of the Russian Party's activists, who demanded to recall their party leader, Sergey Shuvaynikov's candidature, accusing him of attempting to conceal the sources of his campaign financing and embezzlement. A few hours later three unidentified persons broke into the apartment of Russian Society chairman (Anatoliy Los), whose voice was among the loudest to accuse Shuvaynikov, took him to the street and beat him up. According to some other members of the Russian Party Political Council, they were threatened with physical violence, too.

Crimean Tatars To Back Bagrov's Bid for Presidency

MK1101135094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report under the "Crimea" rubric: "Crimean Tatars Will Vote for President After All. A Candidate To Be Expelled From His Own Party "]

[Text] Returning to a discussion of whether its countrymen should participate in the elections for the Republic of Crimea's presidency or not for the fourth time in the past two weeks, the Crimean Tatar People's Assembly rescinded its own 2 January decision on boycotting the elections. Now the Assembly believes that the pre-election situation has changed drastically and there are fears that a person who insists on redrawing the current borders may come to power. (As a matter of fact, five out of six candidates, except for Crimean Supreme Soviet chairman Nikolay Bagrov, call for this to be done.) This is why the Assembly called on the Crimean Tatars to vote against the five and thus give their backing to Bagrov. "Our decision," Assembly chairman Mustafa Dzhemilev told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, "was prompted exclusively by the desire to preserve peace on the peninsula." The Assembly thinks that the decision it made does not amount to the recognition of the institution of the presidency as set forth in the Law on the President, approved by the Crimean Supreme Soviet. The Assembly will not recognize the powers of the future president if he takes steps to redraw borders or make decisions on Crimea's status without taking into account the Crimean Tatar people's opinions. In all, 17 Assembly members voted for taking part in the presidential elections, with 10 "No" votes and 2 abstentions.

The Russian Party of Crimea's emergency congress, attended by members of Crimea's Russian Society, expelled Sergey Shuvaynikov, who is running for the Crimean presidency, from the party he headed. Shuvaynikov was accused of having concealed from the party the fact that he had been expelled from a military political school in 1972 and refused to reveal the sources of financing his electoral campaign. According to observers, however, the main reason for what occurred was Shuvaynikov's refusal to withdraw his candidacy and to join the "Russia" bloc, which fielded Yuriy Meshkov, chairman of the Republican Party of Crimea, as its only candidate. According to some members of the Russian Party of Crimea's political council, however, the congress was not legitimate and Shuvaynikov's expulsion from the party was illegal. This is what your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent was told by Andrey Mazyuk, member of the Russian Party of Crimea's political council.

Electoral Commission Registers Nationalist Parties

LD1101174994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Kiev January 11 TASS—Ukraine's central electoral commission examined applications and other documents submitted by political parties seeking registration for the upcoming parliamentary elections in the republic. The commission passed a decision to register the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Peasants' Democratic Party, which intend to nominate their candidates for the elections of Ukrainian People's Deputies scheduled for March 27, 1994.

Security Chiefs on Cooperation, Fighting Terrorism

WS1101144894 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1650 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Interview with Security Service Chief Yevhen Marchuk and State Protection Service Chief Mykhaylo Hayduk by unidentified reporter; place and date not given; from "Without a Protocol" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Marchuk] The Ukrainian Security Service has been actively cooperating with the State Protection Service. One of the primary goals of the Security Service is fighting terrorism. To fight terrorism we must interact with the State Protection Service. I want to point out that the Security Service performs a wide range of tasks that exceed the framework of functions of the State Protection Department. Speaking of the problem of fighting terrorism as a pyramid, the State Protection Service is at the very top, while the Ukrainian Security Service deals with more fundamental, concealed aspects of the same problems. Thus, we disclose persons threatening terrorist acts against political leaders, the state leadership, or people's deputies at all levels from the village to the Supreme Council. When this work enters its completion stage we interact with the State Protection Service. I want to emphasize that for both services the political views of threatened individuals make absolutely no difference. In 1993, the Security Service has investigated more than 120 cases of threats to statesmen and deputies at all levels, presidential representatives, and the president himself. Some 90 cases were disclosed, including threats of terrorist acts against Vyacheslav Chornovil, Deputies Ostroushchenko and Izmalkov, and former Defense Minister Morozov. Thus, you see that we pay no attention to the political views of these people, and this problem has no political connotation for the Security Service. By the way, we also disclosed threats against Russian President Yeltsin and Moldovan President Snegur, as well as a terrorist act against a foreign embassy in Moscow, prepared by foreign citizens on Ukrainian territory. I want to point out that this is an international problem.

[Reporter] I believe that the experience of foreign countries might be useful to us. These countries encountered a lot more problems of this kind. There have been a lot of terrorist acts in the United States, India, and so on. Do you have any contacts with appropriate services from other states?

[Hayduk] The State Protection Department is working on improving its activities and studying the foreign experience. For example, a conference was held in Hungary in November 1993, attended by representatives of 32 states, including Ukraine and Russia. The conference discussed the issues of fighting terrorism and granting security to political leaders. We also held a three-week seminar in Kiev with U.S. special services on the coordination of efforts and the joint resolution of legal issues, conducted practical classes on the physical and psychological fitness of functionaries. By the way, under an agreement with Yevhen Marchuk, a department will be opened at the Kiev Security Service Institute in 1994 for training specialists for our department.

Kiev City Approves State Secrets Protection Statute

WS1201111694 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has approved a statute of the Kiev Oblast and City Board for Protection of State Secrets in Press and Other Mass Media. It was decreed that the board is a local body of the State Secret Protection Committee, as well as a part of the oblast administration due to the principle of dual subordination. The primary task of the board is the protection of state secrets and secret information in printed sources and other means of mass media including papers, journals, books, television and radio programs, documentary films, and exhibitions, as well as textual, audio, and audiovisual materials destined for shipment abroad, disclosure of which can harm military, scientific, technological, and economic interests of Ukraine. The board will give consultative assistance to local authorities, organizations, enterprises, publishing houses, mass media, and expert commissions in order to prevent the disclosure of state secrets and secret information in materials, which are being prepared for publication, broadcasting, or shipment abroad. The board is not entitled to control the ideological contents of those materials. The board carries out its activity on the basis of normative documents adopted for protection of state secrets and secret information in the press and other mass media.

National Currency Introduction Not Seen as Panacea

PM1101171994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Grigoriy Nesmyanovich report: "Hryvnya Will Replace Coupon, Although the Economic Situation Is Unlikely To Be Altered by a Change of Currency"]

[Text] To all appearances, the national currency of Ukraine, the need to introduce which has long been discussed in Kiev, will be brought in over the next few days. Several Ukrainian mass media sources, referring to a statement by Viktor Yushchenko, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian National Bank, even named specific deadlines: The noncash hryvnya should have been brought into circulation 6 January, and the cash hryvnya 10 January. So far, however, this has not come about.

The proposed exchange rate for the hryvnya in respect of the karbovanets is one to 10,000. It is possible that this will be the main achievement of the financial operation, insofar as the number of zeros on price lists at regular food stores right now simply shocks the purchaser. In other respects, only at a stretch can the aforementioned action be considered necessary and well-timed. It is impossible to keep track of the names of authoritative economists, politicians, scientists, and financiers who warned: If it is necessary to introduce the hryvnya, only do it once the karbovanets has stabilized, and, most importantly, once the economy stabilizes. Otherwise, the entire inflationary squall of what went before will rain down on the new national currency, and the hryvnya's image will be undermined even faster than that of its predecessor, the karbovanets.

But it is difficult to link the temporary fall just prior to the New Year of the dollar and Russian ruble rate in respect of the karbovanets with any kind of major positive progress on the part of the Ukrainian economy. It is simply that, following the colossal November price hikes against a background of a natural increase of the activeness of purchasers before the holidays, there were too few banknotes in circulation, and monetary turnover slowed sharply. Therefore, savings accrued by citizens in the form of foreign currency came into play...

Of course, this has not altered the essence of what is going on in the economy. Suffice it to cite facts expounded in the latest interview by Ukraine's Power Engineering and Electrification Minister Vilen Semenyuk: "Enough coal remains in our depots to last roughly one month.... Fuel oil is now coming into our stations in quantities representing 15-20 percent of what is needed.... Only emergency reserves are left in the depots...."

Of course, people feel the effects of this in terms of cold radiators in their apartments, the regular disconnection of hot water and light, and television sets which remain lifeless until evening (by limiting television operating

This resolution was adopted by the SRV Ninth National Assembly's Fourth Session on 30 December 1993.

[Signed] National Assembly Chairman Nong Duc Manh time, the country saves 3.6 million kW-hours of electricity every day.) However, few expect the new currency to change any aspect of life drastically, or to warm people up....

Belarus

Ambassador to U.S. Views Ties, Clinton's Visit

WS1101165894 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 6 Jan 94 pp 1,3

[Interview with Ambassador to the United States Sergey Mikalayevich Martynov by Vasil Spas; place and date not given: "U.S. President Chose Minsk Not Accidentally"]

[Text] [Spas] **Syarhey Mikalayevich, in a few days, U.S. President Bill Clinton will pay an official visit to Minsk. This will be the second U.S.-Belarusian summit within the last six months, which is rather unprecedented in relations between the largest state in the world and a rather small country such as Belarus. In connection with this, how would you describe relations between Minsk and Washington, and what has been achieved in our relations over the last six months?**

[Martynov] Relations between Belarus and the United States were officially classified as friendly in a joint declaration, which was adopted at the first meeting between Stanislav Shushkevich and Bill Clinton in July of last year.

The first July visit by a Belarusian delegation was not held without a reason, but occurred as a result of efforts made over the entire existence of relations between Belarus and the United States. While speaking about achievements of this period, one must emphasize that Belarus has signed with the United States an array of agreements on cooperation in the military-technical sphere. The main ones among them were signed during the visit by Stanislav Shushkevich to the United States. These agreements are still paving the way for relations between the United States and other countries of the former Soviet Union: There have been no similar agreements between the United States and other CIS countries, except with Belarus. We are the only ones with whom the United States has signed agreements on cooperation in military conversion and in ecological restoration of radioactively and chemically polluted strategic nuclear weapons facilities. Such agreements, I would like to emphasize, exist only between Belarus and the United States.

Currently, we are receiving $76 million in disarmament aid from the United States, and we would like to receive additional funds for this purpose in 1994.

We have received considerable economic assistance in the form of preferential deliveries of grain and bread. Additionally, an array of programs is being introduced—some of them are currently being reexamined—regarding technical cooperation between the United States and Belarus in establishing a financial-credit system, a monetary system, development of private farming, etc.

[Spas] **The January trip to Europe by Bill Clinton will be his first visit to the Old World as U.S. President. Moreover, this is a very short visit—altogether about one week. This way, Minsk is one of the four European capitals to be visited by President Clinton. Why, in your opinion, did he choose Belarus as one of the points of his brief European tour?**

[Martynov] Why did the President choose Minsk as one of the points on his first European itinerary? Probably, only Bill Clinton himself could give a more precise answer to this question. From our point of view, the choice was determined by the constructive and weighed course in Belarus' disarmament and foreign policies, as well as by Belarus' position as the most stable post-Soviet republic, which has not shed a drop of blood during the process of deep transformations, and which is conducting democratic and economic reforms.

Another factor is that the United States is interested in the development of relations with Belarus, and there are directions which require a more active impulse at a higher level. In particular, this regards the development of economic cooperation between the United States and Belarus.

[Spas] **What could you say about prospects for the development of economic cooperation between the two countries? So far, the political and, I would say, military-political aspects have been the center of attention of U.S.-Belarusian relations.**

[Martynov] A goal of the development of our economic relations, and simultaneously, a goal of the preparations for the visit, is, first of all, the establishment of legal grounds, on which trade and credit relations between the United States and Belarus will be later developing. Second, it is possible that certain issues of cooperation in abolishing trade barriers will also be addressed, and Belarus will receive assistance in establishing a market economy infrastructure, speeding the pace of economic reform, privatization, etc.

[Spas] **Speaking about U.S.-Belarusian relations, one cannot forget the humanitarian aid the United States delivers to Belarus.**

[Martynov] Yes, our Embassy cooperates with numerous humanitarian organizations. The aid they have already sent to Belarus, first of all to Chernobyl victims, amounts to millions of dollars. I expect that this assistance will continue. We also receive a great deal of humanitarian aid from the U.S. Government.

[Spas] **Bill Clinton's visit to Minsk will undoubtedly increase Belarus' popularity in the United States, thanks to our foreign and disarmament policies. This will also be reflected in the improvement of economic relations between the United States and Belarus.**

[Martynov] Belarus' popularity in the United States is not the only goal of our relations. Conditions suitable for investments and prospects for improved business relations also play an important role. As soon as such conditions are created, the message will come very quickly.

[Spas] **At a briefing held in Washington on 16 December, a top U.S. Administration official stated that Belarus is a very important country. We have already underlined the importance of Bill Clinton's choice, however, what did that official have in mind saying that Belarus is a very important country?**

[Martynov] Of course, this opinion, voiced by a top White House official, is not accidental. The White House does not voice such statements accidentally. As we believe, the opinion was determined by the geopolitical and strategic position of Belarus in Europe in general, and in Eastern Europe in particular, as well as the uniqueness of Belarus' position among post-Soviet countries. In this sense, Belarus can serve as an example of a post-Soviet country, which develops quite successfully, of course, taking into account certain objective economic hardships.

Official Hopes Clinton's Visit Brings Investment Incentives

LD1101180694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1521 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] The visit to be paid by President Bill Clinton to Minsk confirms that the United States reacts to Belarus's denuclearization initiatives more concretely than anyone esle in the world does, said Valeriy Tsepkalo, foreign policy adviser to the chairman of the Belarusian parliament.

He believes that after President Clinton's visit European countries—Germany, Britain, France—will have a more sympathetic attitude to the problem of global security.

Belarus, Tsepkalo said, was the only one among the former Soviet republics to sign with the United States a package of agreements concerning such issues, as the conversion of defence plants, the forming of an exports control system, and recultivation of territories where strategic and chemical warfare troops were deployed. "Each of these agreements requires substantial currency infusions from the United States, and they have already begun to arrive," he said.

Several important agreements, particularly on lifting trade barriers and on giving Belarus technical aid in building free-market infrastructure and promoting privatization, are expected to be signed in Minsk, said INTERFAX's interviewee.

However, even when these documents are signed, Belarus can hardly hope to get a vigorous flow of American investment, Tsepkalo noted. "What Belarus is likely to get is a tangible incentive for creating a more favorable climate for investment," he said.

Shushkevich To Meet With Yeltsin in Moscow

WS1201112794 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by Uladzimir Hlod: "Stanislav Shushkevich: 'Nobody Will Save Us. Except We Ourselves.'"]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with a BELINFORM correspondent, Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich has confirmed the agency's report on his upcoming meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

According to the legislature speaker, the meeting will be held in the very near future. The sides are to outline their positions for the upcoming visit to Moscow by U.S. President Bill Clinton, and to discuss the main issues of Belarusian-Russian relations. Stanislav Shushkevich emphasized that the meeting is not accidental, but conscientiously prepared. He also said that he will present not his own viewpoint, but the opinion of the Supreme Soviet Presidium at the meeting with Boris Yeltsin. The legislature leader refused to detail the agenda of negotiations, and added that the following tendency can be seen currently in the republic: "Before an issue is thoroughly examined, discussed, and analyzed, we consider it concluded."

Stanislav Shushkevich also stated that he will honestly report to the Russian president the difficult economic situation in our republic. He noted that, unfortunately, there are widespread beliefs that even the best attitude of Russia toward us cannot change the situation. "I have requested a report on Minsk enterprises that are standing idle. I am afraid to reveal the numbers. They are so disastrous that I have asked that they be further specified. Unfortunately, many people at our finest enterprises remain jobless through no fault of their own. This testifies to the fact that our economy is in a critical state. Therefore, I do not agree with the statements that we will solve all our problems by introducing the monetary union. This is concealing the disease. It should be cured, not concealed from the doctor. We ourselves should find a way of adapting our economy to market relations. Other economic relations are out of the question, given our joining the union with Russia. Should this not occur, the republic will be in danger of a calamitous collapse. I will repeat it again: The ruble zone will not save us from everyday hard work," underlined the Supreme Soviet chairman.

According to Stanislav Shushkevich, the statement issued by the prime ministers of Russia and Belarus, which has not yet been ratified by signing appropriate documents that would specify the mechanism for implementing it, resembles rather a declaration of intentions.

Speaking about the upcoming visit to Minsk by Bill Clinton, the leader of the Belarusian legislature noted that the Belarusian-U.S. negotiations "will be of a consultative nature." When we conceptually solve such issues as disarmament, conversion, and the monetary union, the signing of appropriate documents will be a technical matter, stated the Supreme Soviet chairman.

Stanislav Shushkevich said that he had been very surprised by an INTERFAX report citing [Prime Minister] Vyacheslav Kebich as saying that "after Russia joins NATO, also Belarus could become a member of this bloc." The point is, explained the speaker, that all basic documents of Belarus, including the Constitution, set the course for neutrality, not for favoring any blocs. We have a completely different foreign policy focused on neutrality, stressed Stanislav Shushkevich. He admitted that he had not yet discussed this issue with Vyacheslav Kebich, but apparently, it must have been a mistake. Probably, journalists misunderstood the prime minister, he added.

Additionally, Belarus has never and nowhere stated its intentions to join NATO at the official level, concluded the speaker. This statement contradicts the agreement on collective CIS security, and Vyacheslav Kebich has always supported it.

Members of Delegation Named

LD1101140894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1350 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By BELINFORM correspondent Vladimir Glod for TASS]

[Text] Minsk January 11 TASS—A delegation of the Belarusian Parliament led by its Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich is leaving for Moscow on Tuesday night for talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin due to begin on Wednesday.

Shushkevich pointed out that "the forthcoming meeting is not spontaneous, but was thoroughly prepared." In Moscow, the sides are to discuss strategic issues of their interaction in the economic and other spheres. The sides are to specify their positions in the run up to the U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow and Minsk.

The Belarusian delegation to the talks with Yeltsin includes several members of the presidium of the Belarusian Parliament, Vice-Premier Vladimir Zalomai, Chairman of the board of the Belarusian National Bank Stanislav Bogdanekevich and other officials. The meeting might be attended by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Monetary Union To Be Discussed

LD1101175694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1728 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Stanislav Shushkevich, Chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet, will leave for Moscow late on Tuesday to meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin there. Officials in Shushkevich's headquarters told Interfax that the setting up of a monetary union of the two countries would be a major issue the two men will discuss.

Observers note that Shushkevich and Belarussian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich have significant differences over the economic integration of the two countries.

Valery Tsepkalo, an adviser of the Supreme Soviiet chairman, told Interfax that Shushkevich largely shared the views of Stanislav Bogdankevich, Chairman of the National Bank of Belarus, who opposes the signing an agreement on the merger of the monetary systems in the form it was drafted by a bilateral ad hoc team of experts.

Valery Dashkevich, an advisor of the National Bank of Belarus (NBB) chairman, told Interfax that his chief "thinks that before a monetary union is established an agreement should be reached on common prices of fuels and basic raw commodities. ... If his view is ignored, the NBB chairman may resign."

According to Dashkevich, the NBB chairman will accompany Shushkevich to Moscow.

Asked by Interfax whether Shushkevich intended to coordinate with Yeltsin his position in talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton, Tsepkalo doubted the need in this because, in his view, "Belarus does not have differences with the U.S.A. or Russia."

Shushkevich on Signing CIS Security Agreement

WS1101140094 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 5 Jan 94 p 1

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich by Valyantsin Zhdanko; place and date not given: "Belarus and Collective Security. Is the Scandal To Continue?"]

[Text] **Belarus joining the CIS collective security system. Currently, this issue, on which so many discussions were held half a year ago, has quietly disappeared from the press, and has almost been forgotten by the people.**

However, over the upcoming weeks, this issue will probably again become the number one topic in the legislature and a reason behind the fierce battle for power.

In Ashgabat, a Belarusian delegation headed by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich participated in work on drafting documents concerning collective security. There have been reports that our CIS partners do not want to accept the stipulations, on which Belarus insisted while signing the agreement.

[Zhdanko] **There have been contradictory rumors about Belarus signing the agreement.**

[Shushkevich] Belarus signed the agreement on joining the CIS collective security system long ago. However, there are still certain forces here which are ready to treat this issue differently. It is interesting that our partners have far fewer doubts. For example, in an interview with INTERFAX, Viktor Samsonov, chief of the Headquarters for Coordinating Military Cooperation of CIS countries, stated that Belarus joined the system of collective security and fulfilled all procedures. In the same INTERFAX bulletin, Mechyslav Hryb questioned this fact. Since the honorable chairman of the Supreme Soviet committee had such doubts, I have asked lawyers to further analyze the issue. What is the result? As a matter of fact, there are no doubts, however there is a question of terminology. The point is that the Vienna convention provides for joining agreements by signing them or by issuing a statement saying that they will be ratified. The 10th paragraph of the agreement on collective security says that one can join the agreement. It does not provide for signing it.

[Zhdanko] **Cannot one remove the ambiguity of this situation?**

[Shushkevich] On 31 December, I sent a letter to CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Karatchenya. I informed him that I legalized the agreement in the same way Azerbaijan and Georgia did. However, since the Supreme Soviet requested that I not join the agreement but sign it, I replied that, had I done so, I would have actually confirmed our joining the agreement, and I cited the Supreme Soviet resolution attaching stipulations to it. The stipulations, as is known, prohibit the participation of our troops in any actions abroad and activities of armed forces of the countries that have signed the agreement on our territories, without Supreme soviet permission. It was not only this issue which forced me to write the letter. I was surprised that Vyacheslav Frantsevich Kebich, the head of our delegation, did not sign certain ordinary documents regarding collective CIS security at the meeting in Ashgabat. These were a resolution on further work on a draft protocol of the agreement on collective security, the resolution "On Key Measures for Implementing the Agreement on Collective Security," a protocol on terms and procedures of joining the agreement, and a resolution on appointing the secretary general of the Collective Security Council. Had I been well and able to head the delegation, I would have unconditionally signed the documents. I believe that, having consulted the Supreme Soviet Presidium, I will still have an opportunity to announce that we are ready to sign the documents.

[Zhdanko] **But, immediately after the Ashgabat meeting, the prime minister explained why Belarus had been forced to play an observer's role during debate on this issue.**

[Shushkevich] I do not like when somebody tries to complicate something simple. If the head of the delegation—the prime minister—had been convinced that I had not signed the document, he could have demonstratively stated that he would do it. He had the right to do so as the head of a delegation appointed by the Supreme Soviet. But such a question did not arise, since it would have been nonsense. Therefore, I believe that this is just part of a campaign to prove that somebody does not want to do anything against the interests of Belarus.

[Zhdanko] **Assuming that the procedures for signing the agreement were violated, is the Foreign Ministry responsible for this?**

[Shushkevich] In countries with statehood experience, their official state structures establish appropriate procedures. If the Foreign Ministry believes that I did not properly sign the agreement, it is its responsibility to inform me about this and indicate which procedures were not fulfilled. The Committee for National Security could have done the same as well. But, instead of doing this, they began ununderstandable hysteria. I sent this letter to clarify the situation.

[Zhdanko] **Is it possible that Belarus will join the system of collective security, having stipulated certain terms and its special status within this structure?**

[Shushkevich] The stipulations adopted by the Supreme Soviet, in my opinion, contradict, to a certain degree, the very sense of the agreement... One must realize that our stipulations can be approved only if this is agreed with all countries which have signed the agreement without any stipulations. I believe that our diplomats should handle this issue. I have not seen any move by the Foreign Ministry and the Cabinet of Ministers which would be aimed at implementing the Supreme Soviet resolution. In a previous letter to leaders of CIS countries and the latest one, I could not conceal the stipulations—I was obliged to reveal them. When will the issue be finally solved? When the Supreme Soviet adopts a resolution on ratification. If the stipulations are approved, they should also be accepted by other countries. Should this not occur, we should annul the stipulations. I believe that preparing the agreement for ratification would be the best form of work for today, as well as completing a thorough analysis of the question of whether our joining can be accepted with such stipulations.

Minsk, Moscow Reassure IMF Over Monetary Union

LD1201100694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0005 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By unidentified BELINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 12 Jan—The signing of a statement by the Governments of the Russian Federation and Belarus on the forthcoming unification of their monetary systems should not have any effect on the results of cooperation between the republics and international financial organizations, a BELINFORM correspondent was told by Yevgeniy Bogomazov, head of the sector of the Belarusian Council of Ministers for coordinating the work of republican bodies with international economic and financial credit organizations.

He said that plenipotentiary representatives of the two republics had signed a message in Moscow to the IMF, the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] and other international organizations, in which they gave an assurance that the unification of the two monetary systems would not have an effect on the prospects for cooperation between the two republics and these organizations and would not affect the independent status of each of the republics.

Passions 'Whipped Up' by Proposed Monetary Union

PM1201114994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report: "Failure of Belarusian Ruble Regarded Equivocally in Belarus"]

[Text] Minsk—The statement by Prime Ministers V. Chernomyrdin and V. Kebich on the union of the two states' monetary systems has whipped up passions even more in Belarus. Many questions have arisen, but three main ones worry everybody. What advantages does the republic derive from such a union? Is it not losing its sovereignty? What will be the Belarusian coupon's future fate?

It is difficult to answer these questions fully at present. Let us stop and consider several points only. V. Kebich's government has for a long time been actively striving to create an economic and currency union, right to the point of a union of the two states' monetary systems. When proposing ways of extricating the republic from the social and economic crisis, the premier recently stated: It is much easier to stabilize our state's economy and finances by pooling our resources. All the more so as Russia is giving us this chance.

Nevertheless a union of the monetary systems is regarded far from unequivocally in Belarus. Especially in the republic's parliament. A group of people's deputies, including members of the parliamentary opposition, recently wrote in an analysis of the situation in the newspaper NARODNAYA GAZETA that it really will be a question of Belarus giving up its independence.

But S. Bahdankevich, chairman of the board of the National Bank of Belarus, considers that the creation of a single ruble zone does not threaten the republic's sovereignty and that the danger has been exaggerated. In essence, Bahdankevich says, we will only coordinate the budget deficit and the volume of credit issued. But we will have full sovereignty within the framework of these parameters. Only time will tell to what degree Belarus's chief banker is right. But now the Belarusian ruble will exist on the territory of the two states without let or hindrance. During the negotiations both sides agreed on an exchange rate of 1:1 for the Belarusian and Russian rubles.

Belarusian economic planners are also in favor of a union of the monetary systems. Who can tell us where to find more convenient sources of energy resources for the republic, a consumer market which is more extensive and adapted to our commodities output, and where to find such lenders? More than 90 percent of the energy sources and raw materials the republic requires come from Russia. About 70 percent of Belarus's exports are delivered to the Russian market.

There are insufficient currency and gold reserves in Belarus to pursue its economic policy independently of its neighbors. In short, Belarus's economy is closely linked to Russia. This cannot be left out of the equation.

Ukrainian Ex-Premier: Bilateral Ties 'Very Weak'

WS1101212394 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Unattributed report: "On Kuchma's Visit to Minsk"]

[Text] As BELAPAN has previously reported, on 11 January [as received] a delegation of the Ukrainian Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, headed by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, arrived in Minsk. The Ukrainian delegation participated in an expanded session of the Belarusian Confederation of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, met with representatives of industrial enterprises, entrepreneurs, and Belarusian Supreme Soviet deputies. In the afternoon, Leonid Kuchma met with Vyacheslav Kebich. On the same day, the former Ukrainian prime minister held a news conference. "Economic conditions compel us and our Belarusian colleagues," he said, "to make our legislatures and governments pay special attention to the problems we are currently experiencing.... We have crossed that dangerous line which separates us from the abyss...." In the opinion of Leonid Kuchma, Belarusian-Ukrainian relations are very weak.

Interior Troops Commander Views Job, Politics

WS1101181594 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 6 Jan 94 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Konstantin Platonov, newly appointed commander of the Belarusian Interior Troops, by Igor Gukovskiy; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want To Flex Our Muscles"]

[Text] [Gukovskiy] Your appointment has met with different kinds of reaction. Some people believe that nominating the new commander is an attempt to remove troops from under the Interior Ministry's strict control. The Council of Ministers is allegedly pursuing the goal of providing governmental structures' security in case Belarus encounters events similar to those that occurred in Moscow in October 1993. This is why they appointed "their man" to this post, someone who is devoted and reliable.

[Platonov] These are fabrications. Nothing has changed since my nomination. The functions of the Interior Troops are the same. Article 1 of the Law on the Interior

Troops determines the status of these troops as a state-controlled armed formation responsible for protecting lives, health, rights, freedoms, and personal interests of citizens, society, and the state, its constitutional structure, as well as the sovereignty and security of Belarus.

Article 5 adds that the interior minister exercises general control over the Interior Troops, while direct control is exercised by the deputy minister, who is in fact the troops' commander.

Why did they appoint me? I think because 50 percent of my functions as deputy minister coincided with functions performed by the Interior Troops command. Combining the two posts seems like a sound idea to me, preventing the forming of a large bureaucratic machine. I am an appointed functionary, just like other interior officers.

[Gukovskiy] You said that nothing had changed since your appointment. What would you like to change?

[Platonov] I have had too little time for these kinds of conclusions, while there are a lot of urgent problems. These include supplies of equipment and materials. Look how poorly armed our interior troops are.... We will probably turn to the government for help. The combat readiness of our troops must be increased.

[Gukovskiy] On the first day of the [13th] Supreme Soviet session, Independence Square in Minsk was packed with special equipment and people in militia uniforms, reportedly belonging to a Belarusian regiment. What kind of unit is that? Did deputies need such a powerful shield? In my opinion, this gave the opposition an excuse to accuse the government of using force to step up tension. According to the Popular Front, this almost amounted to orchestrating an unconstitutional coup.

[Platonov] The Prosecutor's Office investigated this affair following a motion from the Popular Front. The mass media depicted me almost as a dictator who came to arrest the legislature on that day. This is nonsense. I simply followed orders. Moreover, that was not Kebich or Danilov who gave these orders, although newspapers have been describing the latter as a monster. The orders were issued by the interior minister himself. Can you imagine what could have happened had I failed to perform this task and provide for the deputies' safety?

The situation was very tense. On the eve of the session, Belarusian Servicemen Association Chairman Nikolay Statkevich was summoned to the KGB offices and notified that in case of unrest the blame would be put on him. Today, the Servicemen Association is rejecting everything, but believe me that there was a great danger of clashes and provocations.

With regard to the Belarusian regiment, I want to underline that this is quite a different unit performing other functions. There were no representatives of the regiment in the square. Minsk residents simply associate this name with the activities of the former regiment of the USSR Interior Troops used for operations in hotspots of the former Soviet Union. This operative regiment has been disbanded and a militia brigade has been formed on its basis and that of a militia regiment. The brigade protects public order in the Belarusian capital, also during mass demonstrations.

[Gukovskiy] One of the tasks of the Interior Troops is protecting the safety of the Republic and its citizens. In light of this, how do you assess the activities of the Belarusian Servicemen Association?

[Platonov] The association was registered by the Ministry of Justice as a public movement. However, it is evidently performing political functions. From this perspective, the association's activities, in my opinion, are illegal. I do not think that we should have any "armed servicemen" aside from the Armed Forces. From whom will they protect us?

The nationalist inclination of the Servicemen Association, the Popular Front, and other similar organizations is very dangerous. It is good that we have become independent and won our sovereignty, but we should not overshoot the mark. Take disputes over the "historic" victory of Orsha, for example. Have they contributed to Belarusian-Russian friendship? Only one step separates nationalism and national chauvinism from fascism. We will continue to keep close watch over any manifestations of these tendencies.

[Gukovskiy] Do you have problems maintaining relations with other law enforcement agencies?

[Platonov] Your question must have been prompted by the well- known letter from the Interior Ministry and KGB leadership to Shushkevich and Kebich. I cannot be held responsible for the entire ministry. I have always had good relations with the KGB, the Defense Ministry, and the State Committee for National Security and Crime Fighting.

There are no obstacles to our work on the part of Danilov. Today, neither the KGB nor the Interior Ministry can be left uncontrolled. Our structure is subordinated to the Council of Ministers and helps enforcement structures coordinate activities, draws other ministers and departments into resolving urgent issues, including issues of material supplies.

We are grateful to the Defense Ministry that has often helped us in the past, and which recently granted us one of its garrisons for training our troops.

[Gukovskiy] How proficient are the Interior Troops?

[Platonov] We have good officers, a majority of whom have both special military training and experience. Some 800 Belarusian officers have been redeployed to the Republic from other regions of the CIS. They, too have problems, of which the housing problem is the most acute. However, the active stance taken by the government and personally by Vyacheslav Kebich, who recently visited the troops, gives us hope that they will be resolved.

Yet, we are disappointed with low proficiency of our active service soldiers. Military commissariats often draft young people unfit for the Interior Troops.

[Gukovskiy] You are urging the importance of professional training, but as far as I know, you were nominated to be deputy interior minister after working in the Komsomol. This fact is often cited by your opponents. Could you brief us on the highlights of your biography?

[Platonov] I was born in Vitebsk in 1940 in a Belarusian family, although I was registered as a Russian because my family was evacuated to Krasnoyarsk Kray during the war. I returned to Belarus in 1961, graduated from the department of physics and mathematics of Vitebsk Pedagogical Institute, and became a schoolteacher. Then, I served in the Army and worked in the Komsomol. My last job here was as first secretary of the Central Committee. I studied in the Social Sciences Academy between 1980-1983, where I wrote my dissertation. Then, my life dramatically changed—I was directed to work in the Interior Ministry. Those who blame me for lack of professionalism do not know that before entering the Academy I took a special course at the Armed Forces General Staff and received a the rank of colonel.

[Gukovskiy] Unlike many representatives of the nomenklatura, you often mention your membership in the CPSU and the years spent in the Komsomol.

[Platonov] This is not something of which to be ashamed. I am proud that I worked under the leadership of people like Petr Masherov. They taught me to be responsible and provided me with invaluable moral support.

[Gukovskiy] In accordance with the law, you cannot be a member of any party. What are your political inclinations?

[Platonov] I do not see any powerful political trend whose ideas I would like to follow. Unfortunately, extreme left-wing and right-wing views prevail in the political spectrum of Belarus. Representatives of all these groups know me, because I often attend their meetings—that is part of my job.

Times are changing and so are law enforcement agencies. Earlier, we tried to resolve problems by means of muscle. Today, we have legal footing for our actions. Neither I nor my subordinates want to provoke clashes and demonstrate who is the boss. All issues of contention should be resolved peacefully.

United Democratic Party Leader on Economic Priorities

WS1101203794 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 5 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by S. Gusak, deputy chairman of the Belarusian United Democratic Party: "The Time of 'Soft' Reforms Has Passed"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Currently, the structural reconstruction of the Belarusian economy requires the following measures:

1. It is necessary to create a transportation net for delivery of oil from third countries, that is, to implement the idea of a Baltic-Black Sea oil collector [BBSoc]. Politicians and experts from Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine, who participated in the international conference addressing the issue of fuel deliveries to our region, supported this idea. The costs for the reconstruction of oil pump stations and the building of a gas pipeline could stand at $350-400 million. This is an acceptable sum for several states. The BBSoc operation will do away with the Russian monopoly on oil in the region and our oil and gas shortages. Costs for oil transportation from Saudi Arabia through the territory of the Baltics to the Novopolotsk oil processing factory will represent some 12-14 percent of the total cost paid for oil purchases. In general, this oil from Saudi Arabia will be cheaper than that from Russia, which we are receiving on a barter or clearing-house basis. Hence, the first and foremost task of our government is to protect our market from monopoly control.

2. To do away with Russian gas deliveries, we deem it expedient to deliver condensed gas from Algeria. Algeria has enormous potential to condense extracted gas and is looking for markets. We could charter gas tankers in Algeria. To pump the condensed gas, we could use existing gas pipelines and install the necessary cryogenic equipment. Gas pipelines, as well as oil pipelines, will connect Belarus with the Baltic and Black Seas. Several dozen tankers per year will satisfy 50 percent of our oil requirements.

All civilized states have antimonopoly laws, according to which deliveries of raw materials or fuel (under one title) cannot exceed 25-30 percent of the overall amount used by the state. We expect that the 1994 price for Russian gas will approach the level of world prices, therefore, we will have to pay more for municipal services; prices will jump. All this will twist the inflation spiral, which in turn will sweep the goods out of our shops.

3. We should reconstruct our oil processing factories and provide for their full capacity, which exceeds the republic's demand for oil products. The excess of oil products could be sold abroad and the money used to purchase oil.

4. The BBSoc states should unite their efforts with other CIS states and pursue a single economic policy with Russia to do away with its crushing terms.

5. Specific measures should be taken to cut down hard-currency expenditures and we should learn to pay for only imported goods in hard currency. For example, Belarus does not have the branch of power mechanical building, while our equipment for power engineering is already worn out and requires deliveries of very expensive spare parts. At the same time, the giant Zhodino truck factory is living through a difficult period of unplanned production stoppages due to lack of orders. This automobile giant could be retooled and turned into a host enterprise of power mechanical building.

6. Enterprises should introduce energy conservation technologies into their production. In connection with this, appropriate departments should establish a Republican standard of energy use per unit of production. Enterprises that have reached a high level of energy conservation should enjoy tax breaks. The amount of tax breaks should enable these enterprises to continue the introduction of advanced technologies. In capitalist states, such practices have proved successful and quite advantageous.

7. Expenditures on state staff and nomenclature should be sharply reduced. All official cars should be sold at public auctions. Only two personal cars—for the Supreme Soviet chairman and the prime minister—can be maintained at state expense. Money for the sold cars should be directed to the Health and Education Ministries. The costly staff of state bodies should be cut by 50 percent. When our fat cats begin filling their cars with gas at private gas stations, they will work out a new approach to oil issues in Belarus.

8. A law banning the employment of all former communist and soviet nomenclature—fed during the Gorbachev era—in high places should be adopted. Law enforcement bodies should begin to legally investigate economic crimes and corruption of high officials. Stolen money should be returned to the state coffers, while law violators should be prosecuted. If this is not done, the Republic will not defeat the Mafia-nomenclature clan, which lives at the expense of people, and economic reforms will lead to the creation of a political regime akin to those in Latin America.

9. We should begin to profoundly reconstruct the economy with the aim of raising its efficiency and decreasing the power-output ratio and input of materials. To do this, we should reevaluate the significance of the agricultural sector of the economy.

There are a lot of models of economic reforms causing a certain degree of social unrest or a degree of radical change. A lot depends on the starting point. The time of soft reforms has gone. Currently, our industrial output equals postwar levels in Germany, Japan, or Korea. The models of economic reform in those states have been different, while they had one thing in common: People worked nine hours a day and 6 days a week; they had a week's unpaid vacation, and the unemployment rate was around 10 percent. Our government will likely introduce the same parameters for us.

So, please, do not be happy if you happen to shake hands with our prime minister.

Moldova

Snegur Issues Decree on Parliamentary Elections

LD1101193194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] On Monday President Mircea Snegur issued a decree on organizing parliamentary elections on February 27.

The government and local governing bodies together with the Central Electoral Commission should guarantee equal opportunities to all participants in the election campaign.

Under the decree candidates who are employed at executive government bodies at the time of registration should resign from their positions not later than 40 days before the elections. Their jobs will be kept for them for the time of the election campaign. They will take part in election meetings and appear in the media as private individuals.

The heads of executive government bodies have no right to campaign for or against candidates to parliament.

At a conference of top ranking officials in Chishinau on the coming elections President Snegur has declared that the specific conditions of the first multi-party parliamentary elections in Moldova require that he state his attitude to the election campaign.

He said: "Firstly, the constitution binds the president to be involved in the election campaign. I will bend every effort to guarantee the best conditions for parliamentary elections. I call the voters to cast their ballots for those who firmly stand for strengthening the Moldovan state and independence."

"Secondly, the president went on to say, [punctuation as received] I will continue to support political forces that pursue a policy of strengthening Moldova as an independent and sovereign country without any conditions or double standards. This stand is in full accord with my program in the presidential elections that won clear support from voters. I favor those who strengthen the unity of the country by concrete actions. I am going to vote for those who put forward and are capable of carrying out concrete programs to overcome the economic crisis, those who would guarantee stable progress and I am going to urge voters to follow my example."

"Thirdly, every guarantee of equal participation in the elections to all political forces will inevitably result in irreversible democratization, a key attribute of constructing a democratic and law-governed state".

"Fourthly, local executive bodies should organize the election campaign strictly in keeping with the law and presidential decree offering equal opportunities to all candidates".

"In the fifth place, Snegur emphasized, I am confident that the people on the left bank of the Dniester have fully realized who wanted to separate us and why. I hope everyone has understood what should be done to prevent the elections from being blocked by those who do not want us to live in peace and harmony the way we have for centuries."

The president urged the media to cover the election campaign fully and objectively without insulting any of the participants.

The Moldovan head of state singled out the responsibility of government bodies of all levels for taking resolute measures to stop any attempts of any political forces or individuals to win seats in parliament through fanning ethnic discord.

Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli thinks the early parliamentary elections offer a unique chance to determine the future of the nation. At the conference in Chisinau he said the elections should put an end to the speculations of destructive forces operating in Moldova that are opposed to the independence of the country and favor unification with Romania.

The prime minister urged cabinet members planning to run for the new parliament to go on leave by January 15. He said cabinet members and representatives of executive bodies should run in the election campaign on equal grounds with other candidates.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: The prime minister himself has been on leave since Monday. He is running for parliament on the ticket of the influential Agrarian Democratic Party along with his deputies Nikolai Oleinik and Valentin Kunev as well as the current speaker Pyotr Luchinsky.

Dniester Republic Asks for Russian Support

LD1101191294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1755 GMT 11 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 11 Jan—The Supreme Soviet of the unrecognized Dniester republic has today adopted an appeal to deputies of the Russian Federal Assembly, asking for support for the Dniester region and hoping for understanding of its proposals on the creation of a confederation in Moldova. In their message the Dniester deputies accuse the leadership of Moldova of "persistently not wanting to tackle the Dniester problem and pursuing a policy of endless veering between threats, military conflict, and political blackmail." If Chisinau does not want to "find a mutually- acceptable settlement" of the conflict, Tiraspol asks the Russian parliamentarians "to recognize the Dniester Moldavian republic as an independent and sovereign state friendly to Russia". The document also contains a request not to withdraw the Russian 14th Army from the Dniester region.

Moldavian Parliament Deputy Chairman Victor Puscas told the ITAR- TASS correspondent that the appeal from the Tiraspol authorities to the Russian parliamentarians bore witness to the fact that they were unwilling and unable to settle the Dniester region problem around the negotiating table. "There can be no question of any confederation," he said. "The Dniester region problem can and should be resolved within the framework of a united Moldova by means of granting the left-bank districts special juridical status."

Kazakhstan

Pakistan's Ali Refutes Report on Nuclear War Comment

BK1201034594 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali arrived in Kazakhstan's capital of Almaty yesterday on the last leg of his weeklong official visit to three Central Asian states. He was received at the airport by Kazakh Foreign Minister Suleymenov and other senior officials. During a brief discussion with the Kazakh foreign minister at the airport, Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali said ties between Kazakhstan and Pakistan will always be friendly and stable. He said Prime Minister Ms. Benazir Bhutto attaches great importance to ties with Central Asian states.

Foreign Minister Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali said the Kashmir problem is the most important issue between Pakistan and India and its resolution is essential to improving the security environment in South Asia. Refuting a REUTER report which stated the Pakistan foreign minister's warning that a nuclear war could break out in South Asia if the Kashmir issue is not resolved, Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali said a number of countries have expressed concern over the threat of war between Pakistan and India on the issue. He said in categorical terms that Pakistan wants a peaceful resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. With the same desire, Pakistan got ready to hold talks with India on every aspect of the dispute. He said to make the talks meaningful, it is essential that human rights violations be halted in occupied Kashmir, and that India, with due seriousness, should display its political determination to solve this issue.

Security Forces Detain Two 'Spies' in Kustanay

LD1101112894 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0200 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Staff of the Kustanay Oblast branch of the state national security committee detained two spies from one of the leading countries. These spies have taken pictures of secret objects of the oblasts. Films have been confiscated and relevant organs are investigating the matter. We have widely opened the doors of our country to relations with foreign countries but it is important to remember about the security of our young independent state.

TV Shows Air Defense Practice Firing of Missiles

PM1201115994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[From the "Poligon" (Test Range) program; report over video of Emba test range in Kazakhstan]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent over video of a row of flags and a sign reading "Emba-5", air defense systems being tested] The Emba Test Range in Kazakhstan makes it possible to hold fire practices of 10 regiments or air defense brigades at once. Kazakhstan is a foreign country now. However, on the basis of an agreement, field training exercises are held here just like during the past decades. General designers use these exercises to perfect air defense systems. [video shows air defense systems being fired]

Modern Russian air defense systems are superior to foreign ones in terms of multiplicity of channels [kanalnost], protection [zashchishchennost], mobility, and kill probability. So for example, at a recent exercise, the Buk-M1 system scored 30 hits of the most modern air targets with 31 missiles. The air defense men did not disappoint us on this occasion either. Not a single missile missed its target. And that despite the fact that the battery was manned by only two privates instead of the statutory 16. [video shows test range, air defense systems being fired, servicemen operating equipment]

Tajikistan

Missiles Fired at Russian Border Guard Post

LD1201094994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0906 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 12 TASS—Missile fire was again opened from the territory of Afghanistan Tuesday on the 12th post of the Moskovskiy detachment, guarding the Tajik frontier. ITAR-TASS has learned from military sources in Dushanbe that there were no casualties among Russian servicemen.

According to the same sources, the number of armed provocations on some sectors of the Tajik-Afghan border has increased sharply since early January. For instance, fire was opened on the deployment area of the 13th post of the Moskovskiy border guard detachment on Sunday. Tajik mujaheds fired eight shells at the post from Afghan territory.

Borderguards of the Pyanj detachment have cut short three attempts of small groups of Tajik opposition fighters to break into Tajikistan from Afghan territory in the past five days.

Russian Ruble Not Expected To Solve Problems

PM1101122394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent Vladimir Berezovskiy report: "Ruble Has Scaled the Pamirs"]

[Text] Tashkent—Last Sunday Tajikistan entered the Russian ruble zone. Moscow has allocated the republic credit worth 120 billion rubles [R]. The objective is to get the republic's economy, brought to its knees by civil war, up and running and to avert the real threat of famine.

During recent months, and after Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan switched to their own currencies, Tajikistan has been buried in an avalanche of Soviet money. By hook or by crook, this money worked its way into the Pamirs where it was used to buy cars, houses, carpets, and valuable items. The rapid increase in inflation cast practically the entire republic beyond the pale of poverty. Especially as the average wage here used not to exceed R20,000.

However, the Russian ruble does not promise Tajikistan an immediate solution to all its problems. The government has taken extremely unpopular measures in order to ensure that the credit it has received will last six months, whereupon Dushanbe will probably switch to its own national currency anyway.

And so the old money cannot be exchanged for Russian money. Only half of January's pay will be issued in Russian money; the rest will be paid into special accounts. The population can place old money on deposit, but it is unclear when this will be unfrozen. The confiscatory nature of the money reform is also emphasized by the fact that a ceiling of R64,000 has been imposed on wages. This is motivated by the fear that "spare" money will flood into Russia, washing away goods and whipping up inflation—which was what happened before.

The introduction of the ruble, unfortunately, has hit "our people" hardest—those looking to resettle in Russia. Under a government directive, only R20,000 per family member may now be taken out of the republic. But what is to be done with the money that was paid out for apartments, houses, dachas, cars, and other property?

Dushanbe Receives Cash for Ruble Exchange

PM1101150994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Report by Ivan Zhagel: "Tajikistan Has Received Political Credit of 30 Billion Rubles and Will Obviously Receive the Same Amount Again"]

[Text] During the extended vacation, an "Ostankino" news program showed an item on the start of the exchange of old rubles for new Russian rubles in Tajikistan. The event could be considered an exception since previously not a single former Soviet republic had succeeded in getting Russia to assign it cash.

The Russian Goskomsotrudnichestvo [State Committee for Cooperation with Commonwealth Members] confirmed that cash worth 30 billion rubles [R] had been imported into Tajikistan and that intergovernment agreements between the two countries have stipulated a sum of R60 billion.

Actually all leading workers at the Goskomsotrudnichestvo with whom we talked were very reluctant to provide information and asked not to be named. This behavior is entirely understandable since we can now expect a sharply negative response from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, and some other countries of nearby foreign parts which have sought but have not gotten the same favor from Russia.

Why has an exception been made for Tajikistan? One deputy chairman of the Goskomsotrudnichestvo called this a "big exception" made "by force of circumstances." It is not hard to guess what these circumstances are—the complete collapse of the Tajik economy, the continuing war on its borders, and Russia's interests in this region.

On the other hand it is wrong to suppose that Tajikistan has now fully entered the ruble zone and has joined its money area with Russia. Yet this view does exist among Tajik leaders. But the rubles were not supplied for nothing but as a state credit. And on the same terms which have been set for other republics and primarily the transfer of gold and currency reserves to Russia. It is true that there are not so many of these reserves in Russia so the agreement stipulates that the supply of cash be compensated largely through the mortgage of property. But from talks with Goskomsotrudnichestvo staffers it could be understood that the specific establishments to be mortgaged have not yet been determined.

In addition the credit has been supplied for six months, during which period Tajikistan must fulfill all terms for really entering the ruble zone. And these terms provide for the complete subordination of the national bank to the Central Bank of Russia, the coordination of tax, customs, and budget policy, and the implementation of economic reforms. If the Tajik leaders manage to do all this within six months then they are relieved of their obligation to service the credit provided to them. Otherwise they will pay in full.

Ruble Zone Implementation's First Stage Viewed

LD1101155694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1304 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 11 TASS—The preliminary results of the implementation of the first stage of the Russo-Tajik agreement on the republic's accession to Russia's single monetary system, which began on January 5, have been summed up in Tajikistan. Tajik banks have stopped accepting deposits from the population as of today. The circulation of old 10-rouble banknotes was stopped the day before.

ITAR-TASS has learned from sources close to the Tajik government that Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, had optimistically assessed at a meeting of a special state commission on Monday evening the preliminary results of the first stage's implementation. He stressed that this important undertaking, in spite of several organisational difficulties, was carried out with less social losses than predicted by sceptics. On the whole, more than 120 billion old roubles were withdrawn from circulation. The population got wages and various allowances amounting to 10 billion new roubles. The head of the Tajik state noted in particular that honest people had not suffered from the republic's phased accession to Russia's rouble zone. However, he ordered Tajik law enforcement bodies to look into cases when individual enterprises and commercial structures had turned in to banks scores of millions of old roubles.

It was stressed during the commission's meeting that the heads of corresponding ministries and departments were confronted with the tasks of supplying the market with enough goods, primarily food products, exercising strict control over the state commercial system, and preventing the leakage of new Russian roubles to other countries.

In the meantime, the situation in the state retail trade network and on the local markets is deplorable. Food stores are empty as before. Nothing has changed for the better at Dushanbe markets. Owners of commercial kiosks have not reduced prices.

Uzbekistan

Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev Continues Visit

Presidents Against Dual Citizenship

LD1101161494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1202 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The presidents of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Islam Karimov, have spoken out against the idea of dual citizenship, which was introduced recently by Turkmenistan, they told reporters in Tashkent Monday.

Karimov, for example, has said that Russians living in Uzbekistan should believe that the republic's constitution provides them equal conditions and rights alongside the local population and other nations living in the republics.

For his part, Nazarbayev said that Kazakhstan's Constitution does not offer dual citizenship and he, as the president, must obey it.

Presidents Reach Economic Union Accord

LD1101191194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1741 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature; by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Uzbek and Kazakh presidents Islam Karimov and Nursultan Nazarbayev signed an agreement in Tashkent Monday on the setting up of an economic union.

Karimov emphasized at a news conference that the agreement called for removal of customs offices on the boundary between the two countries, free movement of people, goods and services and creation of legislation for joint development of communication and transport lines. The existing customs treaty will be ineffective as of February 1, 1994.

According to Karimov, third countries may join the treaty.

The Uzbek president told journalists that the bilateral talks had culminated in signing agreements on a regional investment bank and an inter-state clearing bank and on settlements between the National Bank of Kazakhstan and the Central Bank of Uzbekistan.

By still another agreement, the $39 million debt Uzbekistan owed Kazakhstan at the end of 1993 will be regarded as a state credit to the Uzbek government.

Answering a question about the need in such a union, Nazarbayev said that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan had always supported economic integration and disapproved of self-isolation. "This union became an urgent need as equal national currencies began to circulate," he said. He emphasized that the two presidents had agreed that their partnership should be equal without any dictate or hegemony.

Both presidents had a dim view of dual citizenship such as what Turkmenistan had recently introduced. Karimov said: "I want the Russians living in Uzbekistan to believe that the repubiic's Constitution provides equal opportunities and rights with the native population and all peoples living here."

For his part, Nazarbayev said that the Kazakh Constitution did not provide for dual citizenship and he as the president had to abide by the Constitution.

Nazarbayev formulated the watchword for today as To Prosperity through Unity and Karimov as Ethnic, Inter-Ethnic and Civic Accord.

Karimov and Nazarbayev left for Nukus, Uzbekistan, to attend the summit of five Central Asian countries which will discuss ways to safeguard the Aral Sea.

This meeting will take over from the Kzyl-Orda summit at which the leaders of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajkstan agreed on March 26, 1993 on joint action to rescue the Aral Sea and the surrounding areas.

Informed sources close to the Uzbek government told Interfax that the heads of Central Asian states would discuss in Nukus the introduction of national currencies. Unless these problems are resolved, experts believe, cooperation in the ecological or, for that matter, any other sphere, was impossible.

Paper: Media Registration Ends Freedom of Speech

MK1101142094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 5

[Mekhman Gafarly report: "Only Government Newspapers Come Out in Republic. Independent Publications Denied Registration"]

[Text] The new year has brought no faster democratic change in Uzbekistan, where a virtual end has been put to freedom of speech. A repeat registration of the mass media was completed by the republic's State Press Committee in the first 10 days of December. Contrary to expectations by the numerous Uzbek opposition, the republic's State Press Committee did not register a single newspaper whose founder was a journalist collective or a private person.

In the wake of the "Gorbachev perestroyka," a number of independent publications are known to have appeared and existed till late last year. Besides, some former organs of party and Komsomol organizations, and even of local soviets, started to publish material in a democratic spirit. Deciding to put an end to this "journalist laissez faire," the republic's leadership officially announced that all publications in the republic should be registered again. As was expected, the only printed organs that continue to be published are those of power structures. Having been registered as founders of five main daily republic papers are the Supreme Soviet, the Cabinet of Ministers of the republic, the People's Democratic Party—successor to the former Uzbek Communist party led by Uzbekistan's president—and the Republican Fund in Support of the Press set up in accordance with Islam Karimov's edict. The founders of oblast, rayon, and town newspapers have correspondingly become the administrations of the oblasts, rayons, and towns as in recent Soviet times when the mass media were fully controlled by the official authorities.

Armenia

Yerevan Reports Battles in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC1101183694 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army press service reported today that active military operations continued on most of the Karabakh war fronts. NKR Defense Army units successfully repulsed all the attacks of the Azerbaijani Army in the sectors around Madagis and Hakop-Kamari in the north of Mardakertskiy Rayon, as well as on the [word indistinct] borders of Agdamskiy Rayon.

Positional battles are also continuing in the other sectors of the battlefront. Casualty figures are being determined.

The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that a relative calm has been prevailing on Armenia's borders since last night.

Update Reports Clashes 7-10 Jan

NC1101173094 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpts] The Armenian Ministry of Defense has informed [name indistinct] NEWS AGENCY that Azerbaijan's military forces continued to fire on Armenia's northeastern border on 9 January. The defense positions in Krasnoselskiy Rayon's Chambarak locality were fired on by T-72 tanks from time to time until noon on 9 January. No one was wounded or killed in the firing.

Azerbaijan has maintained its military operations against Idzhevan's border. An enemy BMP [armored personnel carrier] fired on a civilian vehicle on [name indistinct] road at 1100 on 9 January. One person was killed and another was wounded in the vehicle. The military unit in Mazanly fired on (?Kiransk) from a BMP from 1500 to 1530 on the same day. No one was killed and no damage was caused. The defense positions around Berkaber were fired on with large-caliber machine guns and mortars from 1330 to 1410. The Armenian side refrained from returning the fire in all cases. [passage omitted]

According to the information disseminated by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Information Service and the NKR Press and Information Department, Azerbaijan's military forces launched attacks along NKR's front lines on 10 January. The new offensive began at 0700. The situation in Magavuz in Mardakertskiy Rayon was the most serious during the fighting. [passage omitted]

NKR's military forces retreated from their positions during the serious clashes on 7 January. According to the HAY LUR NEWS AGENCY and other sources, Azerbaijan's military forces managed to advance and capture several very important heights close to the Iranian border with the help of many military vehicles. They also launched attacks in several areas along the front line, from east to west. However, the enemy units were checked as a result of the serious resistance of the Armenian forces. All the enemy attacks were rebuffed. The situation was relatively peaceful on 8 January. The news agencies in the NKR report that Azerbaijan lost 80 men, two tanks, and an armored vehicle. We have not yet received any up-to- date information on the Armenian losses.

Azerbaijan's news agencies have reported that the Armenian side has lost 500 men. However, the NKR has denied that report. According to the [word indistinct] officials, the Armenian side lost 32 freedom fighters during the past three days. [passage omitted]

Massive Azeri Losses Alleged

NC1101204694 Yerevan SNARK in English 1342 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Stepanakert, January 11 (SNARK)—In the short hours of quietness the Karabakh soldiers are busy with burying numerous bodies of the Azerbaijani militaries. It can be explained by the absence of the Azerbaijani leaders' desire to take the bodies of the soldiers and officers to conceal the true quantity of losses they have in the clashes.

According to the data received from the Staff of the Karabakh Defense Army, the great number unburied bodies—about 350—are at the suburbs of the Madagiz village, Mardakertskiy region. During the period of last 20 days about 800 soldiers and officers of the Azerbaijani Army were killed there. They were the 18-19 years old, the residents of Baku and Sumgait.

Recently at the border of the Martuninskiy (Karabakh) and Agdamskiy (Azerbaijan) regions more than 200 lost Azeris militaries were buried in the common tomb. Their documents witness the fact—they were within the Mingechaur infantry battalion.

Spokesman Says Azeris Reject Peaceful Solutions

LD1101192894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1651 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Azerbaijan still rejects all programmes of the peaceful solution of the Karabakh problem. More than that, in the past days it provokes military actions on the Armenian-Azeri border. Northern areas of Armenia were shelled in the most barbarous way, the presidential spokesman Aram Abramyan has told the briefing in Yerevan.

He has said Azerbaijan has again illusions to solve the problem militarily. Armenia's position is unchanged, the problem cannot be solved militarily, said Abramyan. That is why the Armenian leadership will use every possibility to try to solve the problem politically, said the spokesman.

In this connection he said that Armenia backs any peace-keeping initiative in this direction, including the recent initiative proposed by Iran. Out of its two key provisions—the ceasefire and the status of Nagoro-Karabakh— Armenia has concentrated on the first one, since only during the ceasefire it is possible to conduct talks on a political status.

Large Section of Gas Pipeline Blown Up

NC1101210594 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] While the Armenian workers were repairing the blown up sectors of the pipeline in Marneulskiy Rayon, yet another explosion took place on Georgian territory. It surpasses the others in its magnitude. A 300-meter sector of the 1,000-mm gas pipeline was blown up and put out of order at the place where it crosses the Kura River in Azerbaijani-inhabited Gardabanskiy Rayon. Moreover, a 800-meter-long sector of the pipeline was displaced by some 5 meters.

Specialists from the Armenian State Gas Enterprise have left for the site of the accident. In their opinion, the Kura River should be diverted and large-scale earth moving should be carried out at the location of the explosion in order to be able to repair the pipeline.

Little Hope of Natural Gas Deliveries Soon

NC1101201594 Yerevan SNARK in English 1402 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, January, 11 (SNARK)—There are no hopes of receiving gas in the nearest future in Armenia, Roland Adonts, the General Director of the " Armenian Gas Industry " enterprise, has declared today to SNARK.

He said the Georgian Government is helpless and incapable not only to provide with the security of the pipeline but also to cope with the Azerbaijani military joints [as received] acting in that part of Georgia.

Adonts declared that Azerbaijani militants control all the elevations along the Southern part of the pipeline. He said it hampers the reconstruction of the pipeline. In the same time Roland Adonts rejected the idea of Armenia's military interference for provision of the pipeline security. He considers it impossible because this region of Georgia is basically inhabited by Azerbaijanians. This problem requires a serious political and military interference of Russia and Georgia.

Azerbaijan

Ministry Claims Armenians Fleeing Battlefield

NC1101200794 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry press service reports: Despite suffering considerable losses in men and material in recent days, Armenia's Army units are not giving up their unsuccessful attempts to attack Azerbaijani territory.

The enemy launched several futile attacks against our positions in Fizulinskiy and Terterskiy rayons through the day on 10 January and the morning of 11 January. Our troops bravely halted the attacks and inflicted crushing blows on the enemy.

According to information obtained from the occupied lands, the Armenian troops are abandoning their positions in panic and are fleeing toward Armenia. Clashes are taking place between those fleeing in disarray and fighters coming from Armenia. It appears that Armenia's military command has been left with no choice but to institute punishment measures to prevent the mass desertions.

Armenian Penetration Attempts Detailed

LD1101165294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1441 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva, Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku January 11 TASS—The Azeri Defence Ministry reported today the on-going Armenian attempts to penetrate inside Azerbaijan.

The Armenians repeatedly attacked the Azeri army positions in the Terter and Fizuli regions located north and south of Nagorno- Karabakh this morning. All the attacks have been fully repulsed. According to the ministry, the Armenians had considerable losses.

Some Armenian units leave the front on their own and are trying to escape to Armenia, the Azeri Defence Ministry's press service reports with a reference to intelligence information from the occupied republican areas. It also claims a number of deserters have been shot in the Armenian rear.

Karabakh Front Offensive Launched

LD1101180894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1635 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—After a relatively calm night, the Azeri National Army resumed offensive operations at many sections of the Karabakh front, sources at the Karabakh defence army headquarters' press center told ITAR-TASS.

The fighting was especially fierce in the Karabakh Mardakert region on the line of Madagis-Akop Kamari settlements and on the border of the Agdam region. All the attacks were repulsed by 3 P.M.

After a counter-offensive, Karabakh units seized a number of heights in the Mardakert region.

Envoy Denies Afghan Mercenaries in Karabakh

MK1101145094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Ramiz Rizayev, Azerbaijan's ambassador to Moscow, by Boris Mikhaylov in the "Transcaucasus" column: "'We Have the Right To Count on the Support of the CIS and the World Community.' Ramiz Rizayev, Ambassador Plenipotentiary of the Azerbaijan Republic to the Russian Federation, Denies Reports About Afghan Mojahedin Involvement in Hostilities"]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] Mr. Ambassador, at a recent meeting of the CIS heads of state in Ashgabat President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan demanded that a mechanism be worked out within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty that would enable the CIS countries to ensure Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. Could you speak about the Azerbaijani initiative in greater detail?

[Rizayev] The fact is that the provisions of the Collective Security Treaty are so defined today that it is oriented toward a rebuff against an "outside enemy" if such, God forbid, ever appears. Although, to be frank, neither Iran nor Turkey are threatening Azerbaijan; on the contrary, we enjoy good-neighbor relations with these countries. This treaty in its present shape does not provide for the possibility of collective defense in a situation when one country—a party to this treaty, in particular Armenia—commits aggression against another CIS member, Azerbaijan. Armenia, trampling upon international law and UN Security Council resolutions, continues to occupy approximately one-quarter of Azerbaijani territory. All the peace efforts undertaken earlier by the CSCE and the Russian Federation to deal with this issue have not brought any tangible results, primarily because Armenia continues to speak from a position of force. The unprecedented case—the shooting by Armenian snipers at Russian Ambassador Vladimir Kazimirov's mission on 20 November—has testified once again to Yerevan's unwillingness to come across with any concessions. After that attack, as is known, Russian Ambassador Kazimirov had to cut short his peacemaking efforts. It is also indicative that Armenia has demonstratively refused to apologize for this incident to the Russian side. In this situation we have the right to expect that parties to the Collective Security Treaty will give a legal assessment to Armenia's expansionist policy, because otherwise the very idea of a collective security system within the CIS framework can be discredited.

[Mikhaylov] Russian diplomat Vladimir Kazimirov in the course of a recent visit to Tehran stated that Russia is ready to continue its intermediary efforts to achieve a settlement in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. How does Baku appraise Russia's peacemaking efforts?

[Rizayev] We can only support the aspiration by the Russian side to ensure peace and stability in this region. Russia in this mediation process can and should do a lot: Russia's geopolitical and economic interests call for stability along its southern borders, and moreover there are approximately half a million Russians living in Azerbaijan who consider our republic their motherland and share all the hardships on a par with everybody else. The peacemaking process should be based on the principle of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. At the same time one should bear in mind that the so-called "self defense forces of Nagorno- Karabakh" are a myth. In fact the formations acting in the zone of combat operations are a component part of Armenia's national guard. Therefore all attempts by the Armenian side to accord Nagorno-Karabakh the status of an independent party in the talks hold no water. How has the tiny Armenian community of Karabakh come by such a mighty power—tanks, missiles, aircraft, and fuel to fill the deadly military machines? Therefore Yerevan's assertion that the conflict is occurring between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh is nothing but an attempt to absolve itself from responsibility for the ongoing war in the region.

[Mikhaylov] Some time ago first Armenian sources and then some Russian papers began to report that Afghan mojahedin are fighting on the Azeri side. Could you confirm this information?

[Rizayev] I can only express a feeling of utmost amazement. The Russian mass media are once again demonstrating unanimous silence over the tragedy unfolding in Azerbaijan before the entire world. More than a million civilians have been left without shelter; death is taking its toll; a real genocide is occurring, but we are not hearing any condemnation of this fact by the Russian public. At the same time certain papers are willingly airing the subject of Afghan mercenaries. Framed "documents" are being used and these fabrications are being backed up with fantastic figures. The impetus to this campaign was provided by statements of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. This is an attempt to divert world public attention from the numerous facts of the involvement of foreign mercenaries as part of Armenia's occupation forces. There is evidence to suggest that Armenians who have been trained in Kurdish guerrilla camps in the Middle East are then transferred to Karabakh, and Syrian and Lebanese hirelings are also arriving here.

[Mikhaylov] Mr. Ambassador, I would like to ask a final question, which is related to the internal political situation in Azerbaijan. Could it be said that the present leadership has succeeded in achieving national accord in the country? Some time ago Ayaz Mutalibov, former president of the republic, expressed his readiness in the press to collaborate with the current authorities....

[Rizayev] The Azerbaijan leadership is ready for a constructive dialogue with all healthy political forces of the country wishing to undertake efforts to lead the country out of the crisis. As for Mutalibov, I can say the following. It is bad when a man does not want to understand that his time has passed. It is okay if lying behind Mutalibov's statements are only his personal ambitions, but there is a danger that the ex-president is being turned into a kind of banner by well-known forces aiming to destabilize the situation in Azerbaijan, which is difficult as it is.

Russians Said Forced Into Army

LD1101175494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] According to the military and radio intelligence of the Nagorno-Karabakh army, Azerbaijanis send units composed mostly of citizens of various CIS states as well as Turkey and Afghanistan to the areas of the fiercest fighting.

A resident of the Russian city of Vladivostok, now prisoner-of-war Oleg Pilipenko, said that the Azerbaijani authorities arrest Russians who temporarily reside on the territory of Azerbaijan and force them into enrolling to the Azerbaijani army by beating.

According to sources in Stepanakert, Pilipenko recently appealed to the Russian authorities to help him and other Russians who were made to serve in the Azerbaijani army.

Another POW, resident of the Turkish town of Sivac Abil Umah, stated that a group of officers of the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry was touring Turkey at the moment drafting Turkish jobless into the national army.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev recently said Baku had irrefutable evidence of mercenaries' participation in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict on the Armenian side.

Aliyev Pardon of Biregadi Battalion Reported

NC1101173694 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 10 Jan 94

["Text" of President Geydar Aliyev's amnesty decree for the Biregadi Battalion on 10 January— read by announcer]

[Text] Considering the fact that the Biregadi Battalion's fighters have admitted their criminal offense and said that they repent what they have done and are ready to try to rectify their mistake by going to the front lines to bravely fight against the enemy, and acting in the light of humanitarian principles and Azerbaijan's Constitution, I have decided:

That the Biregadi Battalion's military personnel, who have been convicted of committing a criminal offense, be pardoned and released from prison to be sent to join the fighting army units under the defense minister's orders.

[Signed] President Geydar Aliyev
[Dated] Baku City, 10 January 1994

Karabakh Conflict May Internationalize

PM1101115594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Report by Kirill Petrov:"Karabakh Front Has Never Before Been So Broad, Threat of the Conflict's Internationalization Has Never Before Been So Real"]

[Excerpts] In the morning of 9 January, following a relative lull, the Azerbaijani Army, supported by armored equipment and aviation, launched a fresh offensive in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Fierce fighting is under way, the sides are suffering major losses. [passage omitted]

The real threat of the conflict's internationalization is another noteworthy aspect. It is, alas, an open secret that envoys from Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] are spending big money to hire "soldiers of fortune" in Russia, in Ukraine, in Belarus, in the Baltic countries.... "International aid" to the warring sides is already arriving from beyond the former USSR's borders. Afghan mojahedin are fighting on Azerbaijan's side. Furthermore, the notorious Hekmatyar and General Dustum have examined the possibility of rendering more effective assistance to Baku. Mercenaries from Lebanon, Syria, and other Near East countries are fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh's defense detachments. Teheran and Istanbul are finding it increasingly hard to conceal their annoyance with the development of events in the NKR. And even though these two capitals issue assurances of readiness to perform a peacemaking mission in the region, it is no secret that certain quite influential forces in both Iran and Turkey are also considering strongarm options of "international aid."

Aliyev Issues Decree To Aid Foreign Trade

NC1101174394 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] President Geydar Aliyev has signed a decree on the measures to be taken to promote foreign trade in the republic. The decree stresses that the republic's state establishments and organizations can sell commodities or provide services to foreign countries within the framework of their foreign trade relations only on the basis of letters of credit or advance payments until the legal formalities are concluded. In addition, advance payment of dues for commodities and services from foreign countries is banned. Imports of foreign products and services by foreign countries will be paid through letters of credit.

The decree says that registering barter trade transactions has been deemed appropriate. Meanwhile, it approves the new list of the strategically important items for the republic, reducing their number of 17.

The full text of the decree and the list of the strategically important items, which has been drawn up with the president's consent, will be published in the press.

Bans Exports of 'Strategic Goods'

LD1101145894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1427 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevinj Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku January 11 TASS—A list of strategically important goods that can no longer be exported from Azerbaijan without a special permission of the Azeri president, was endorsed by a presidential decree here today.

It includes seventeen kinds of goods, including petroleum and its derivatives, natural gas condensate, polyethylene, sulphanol, caustic soda, snake venom, tobacco, cotton fibre, caviar, hand-made rugs, precious, ferrous, and non-ferrous metals, and also articles made of them. The export of electric power is also banned.

This decree, the document stresses, was adopted to ensure more effective use of the republic's export potential at a time when the Azeri market economy is being established, when the system of mutual settlements in foreign trade and measures to protect the domestic market are being toughened. It allows, until the adoption of corresponding legislative acts, regulating commercial relations with foreign countries, including CIS nations, to sell goods and render services outside Azerbaijan only if they are paid for in advance or if a letter of credit is made out. At the same time, the decree prohibits advance payments for goods purchased in foreign countries and services rendered by firms abroad. It is permitted to use letters of credit for this purpose. Restrictions have also been imposed on barter transactions.

Further Details on Decree

NC1201051094 Baku TURAN in English 1618 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Baku, January 11 (TURAN)—Yesterday President Geydar Aliyev issued a decree "On increasing the effectiveness of foreign trade in the Azerbaijan Republic".

The decree was issued in order to increase the effectiveness of export potential, to strengthen the system of trade calculations, and to protect inner trade.

The decree will remain in force until corresponding legislative acts regulating foreign economic activity can be adopted.

In line with this decree, outside the republic, goods will be exported through preliminary payment or by opening a letter of credit. Only with certain exceptions will goods and services be exported without preliminary payment by the order of the Cabinet. Preliminary payment for imported goods and services has been banned. These operations can be implemented with a letter of credit. Preliminary payment for imported goods and barters can be put into effect, in exceptional cases, with the permission of the government.

A list of strategically-sensitive goods, which can be exported only with the permission of the President, has also been defined.

The Cabinet has been given two weeks to work out and to adopt a list of temporary measures. In addition, the Cabinet must work out and present to the President a bill regulating foreign economic activity of organizations and enterprises. Since this decree went into effect on January 10, 1994, all the former decrees (No. 402 from January 13, 1993 and No. 403 on March 18, 1993 and Instruction 118 from September 10, 1992) have been cancelled.

The types of strategic export production, consisting of 60 articles, have been added to the Presidential decree. They include oil and oil products, chemical production, cotton, non-ferrous, black and precious metals, tobacco, snake poison, black caviar and others.

Aliyev Meets Russian President's Envoy

LD1201114594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1032 GMT 12 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Baku January 12 TASS—President Geydar Aliyev received Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian President's special envoy and ambassador at large, here on Wednesday.

Kazimirov also met with Azerbaijan Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov. Matters aimed at settling the Karabakh conflict were discussed.

Agreements Signed With Latvian Delegation

NC1201074994 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev has received an official delegation from the Latvian Republic. Expressing satisfaction with the bilateral ties between Azerbaijan and Latvia, which were allies in the past and are now independent republics, Aliyev noted that both sides are interested in these ties. (Oyar Kekhris), the head of the delegation, who is Latvia's deputy prime minister and economy minister, explained the reasons for the visit to Azerbaijan and provided information on documents signed with the Azerbaijani Government today. He referred to the joint Azerbaijani-Latvian Crescent Trade House established some years ago and noted that the new bilateral ties being established will benefit both sides.

Welcoming the agreement on establishing diplomatic ties between Azerbaijan and Latvia, Aliyev said he believed that trade, economic, scientific, and cultural relations will further develop between the two republics, which had close ties for decades, know each other's history and potential intimately, and are now confidently walking along the road of independence.

Socio-economic issues prevailing in the two republics were also broached during the meeting.

The state adviser on foreign policy affairs, Vafa Gulizade, Economy Minister Samed Sadykhov, and Trade Minister (Rizan) Guseynov took part in the meeting.

Prime Minister Suret Guseynov today received the Latvian delegation and discussed bilateral trade relations. It was noted that the economic and trade agreements signed between Latvia and Azerbaijan for 1993 have been fulfilled. To broaden cooperation in this field, there was an extensive exchange of views on concrete measures to be implemented in 1994. Proposals were put forward to establish customs ties.

A protocol was signed at the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry today on establishing diplomatic relations and on the principles of economic cooperation between Azerbaijan and Latvia. The documents were signed by Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov and Economy Minister Samed Sadykhov and by the Latvian Economy Minister Kekhris Oyar.

Briefing reporters on the importance of the signed documents and the way in which they operate, Gasanov said it is very important for Azerbaijan to have diplomatic ties with the CIS countries.

Answering reporters' questions, Latvian Economy Minister Kekhris Oyar said economic cooperation with Azerbaijan, which has tremendous potential, will greatly benefit Latvia.

Diplomatic representatives to our Republic and other guests attended the signing ceremony.

Subscriptions to Russian Newspaper in Jeopardy

PM1101141994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jan 94 p 1

[Zaur Kadymbekov report: "Will PRAVDA Reach Baku?"]

[Text] Baku—Confusion over mutual transactions, the lack of a sufficient number of Russian rubles in Azerbaijan, and the impossibility of money transfers to Russia have introduced complete chaos into financial relations between the two countries—which has not been slow to affect subscriptions to Russian publications, their delivery, and their printing in the republic.

Meanwhile, according to the information of the local Ministry of Communications, subscriptions to them have been taken out in Azerbaijan to the value of 150 million rubles. Citing the same old reasons, the leadership of the national bank has proposed returning the money to the subscribers. But Nazim Novruzov, chief of the Azerbaijani Press Distribution Association, has declared that possibilities have nonetheless been found to preserve four Russian newspapers for the readers: PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Reportedly To Meet Dudayev

LD1101183794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1622 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Groznny January 11 TASS—Georgian Leader Eduard Shevardnadze will have an official meeting with maverick president Dzhokhar Dudayev of the self-styled Russian republic of Chechnya, the CHECHENPRESS news agency reported on Tuesday quoting Chechen Foreign Minister Shamseddin Yusef.

The news agency did not provide the date and venue of the meeting, but said an agreement on friendship and cooperation between neighbouring Georgia and Chechnya is expected to be signed.

According to Yusef, the meeting was agreed during a recent visit of the Chechen government delegation to Tbilisi.

The announcement came shortly after it became known that ex-President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, an irreconcilable opponent of Shevardnadze, is dead. Chechnya was the shelter for Gamsakhurdia for two years of his exile from where he commanded the anti-Shevardnadze struggle in western Georgia. The late Gamsakhurdia who reportedly committed a suicide will most evidently be buried in Chechnya, according to the will of his widow.

Ardzinba:'Vanquished Do Not Dictate Terms'

MK1101140094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
11 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by Inga Agbarova. "Ardzinba Does Not See Any Prospects"]

[Text] "I do not see any prospects in the talks," Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba said on Gudauta radio referring to the upcoming second round of talks between Georgia and Abkhazia in Geneva. "The vanquished do not dictate terms to the victors," he said. "Hence, Tbilisi will have to put up with the fact that our relations must be based on agreements reached between equal subjects of international law. The Georgian side is constantly exploiting the problem of refugees. As for us, we do not prevent them from returning to their home country." Well-informed sources at the Georgian Foreign Ministry believe that such statements made on the eve of the upcoming Georgian-Abkhazian consultations scheduled for 11 January are provocative and may bring about the most undesirable consequences.

Minister on Army's Future, Relations With Russia

LD1101194194 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1650 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Report on news conference given by Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili at the Georgian Defense Ministry in Tbilisi on 10 January]

[Text] Regarding the recent incident involving the security minister, Karkarashvili said an investigation is under way, which should answer all the questions.

According to the minister the current call-up to active military service is going successfully. At the same time, he noted that the army should be run along professional lines and stressed the importance of further improving the reserve system.

With respect to relations with the national guard, which was set up during recent events in western Georgia, Karkarashvili said those events had justified its existence at that time. However, the guards status has still not been clarified. At this point the minister stressed that his main aim is to create a unified, disciplined, mobile and well armed army as a symbol of the independent state.

Turning to the development of relations with Russia, Georgia's minister of defense stated that they should be defined on the basis of a treaty [Russian: na dogovornoy osnove]. As for maintaining public order, mercenaries may come into the picture but not units from the Russian Federation's ministry of defense, as they do not have the appropriate status.

Abkhazians Allow Repairs at Inguri Station

LD1101193694 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1650 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] According to the state minister Givi Lominadze, the chairman of the temporary committee for emergencies in western Georgia, the region remains stable. The situation is calm if somewhat tense along the line of confrontation, which is marked by the Inguri River. The Abkhaz side has given permission for power engineers to cross the so-called border to carry out repair work at Inguri hydroelectric power station in Gali rayon. Units of the Georgian armed forces stationed in the region are guarding the area along the river Inguri.

The situation in Gali rayon in the border area remains critical as Abkhaz separatists and mercenaries from the northern Caucasus continue to rob civilians, burn houses, and kill people.

Under an accord between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides, between 25 and 30 people a day are granted passes and cross the road bridge over the Inguri from Zugdidi rayon into Gali rayon. However, according to reliable information, mines laid by Abkhaz separatists have killed over 60 people attempting to cross illegally.

Paramilitary Group To Stockpile Weapons

LD1101163694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1439 GMT 11 Jan 94

[by ITAR-TASS correspsondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi January 11 TASS—The command of the "Mkhedrioni" (Horsemen) Georgia's most powerful paramilitary organisation, nominally loyal to Eduard Shevardnadze, have decided to stockpile their firearms.

Longi Chelidze, a "Mkhedrioni" leader, told reporters on Tuesday that any member of the organisation refusing to obey the order to give up his weapon will be reported to the law enforcement bodies of the republic.

By January 15, all weapons should be collected and sealed in dumps. The operation has been already completed on Tuesday in the republic eastern regions of Kakheti and Rustavi.

Not long ago the "Mkhedrioni" units, playing a big role in the Georgian political drama, got the status of a governmental structure called "Georgia's Rescuers".

Local observers believe the "Mkhedrioni" leaders decided to get rid of weapons in a bid to evade any accusations of illegal activities against the members of the organisation.

The "Mkhedrioni" were founded in 1989 by Djaba Ioseliani, once a supporter of the late ex-president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who later inspired the downfall of the first popular-elected president of Georgia.

In November 1990, Ioseliani told ITAR-TASS That the "Mkhedrioni" had been created to prevent ethnic conflicts and preserve the republic's integrity. The "Horsemen" actively participated in the Georgian coup d'etat of December 1991-January 1992, combat operations in Abkhazia and western Georgia on the side of the government troops.

Experts assess that "Mkhedrioni" consist of some three thousand well-equipped gunmen, possess armour and modern means of liaison.

Ruble Zone Viewed as Nation's 'Real Rescue'

LD1101175594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian parliament, declared the necessity of the republic to join the ruble zone. In his interview with INTERFAX he underlined that "it is necessary to raise this question as soon as possible." "I would like to see a strong Georgia which would be able to defend itself and a step towards the ruble zone is a chance for Georgia's real rescue," he emphasized.

Goguadze also declared that he positively assesses proposals of several political functionaries to introduce Russian forces into Georgia in order to bring order in the republic. At the same time, he noted that "this should be done minding genuine necessity."

Goguadze stated that cooperation with other countries "which would not restrict Georgia's sovereignty is always acceptable."

The speaker stressed the necessity to render assistance to Georgia's law enforcement bodies. "A policeman without money is a potential criminal and that is why we need help so we can bring order in the country," announced Goguadze.

Independent Press Terms Media Policy, 'Injustice'

AU0801173294 Tbilisi NOVAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 37 (66) Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed article: "If You Behave Yourselves Well, We Will Help"]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has allocated 3 ½ billion coupons from the state budget to cover the debts of four newspapers to the "Samshoblo" Publishing House where they are published and from whom they rent offices. The lion's share of this amount—approximately 1.8 billion [coupons]—has been allocated to the newspaper SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA.

As the heads of the publishing house have said, this sum is being formally transferred from the budget simply for publishing needs. However, to all intents and purposes, this "injection" is being allocated specifically to SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA, SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA, and two publications appearing in the Armenian and Azeri languages.

The sum is nothing out of the ordinary and, in general, there would have been nothing unusual in this had it not been for one circumstance. All four newspapers were formerly the official organs of the Communist Party Central Committee and Supreme Soviet of Georgia.

However, following all the state political upheavals that started in Georgia three years ago and that have seemingly continued to this day, they were reregistered as independent publications. Nevertheless, they have continued, in the main, to fulfill their previous functions.

The problem would not have arisen had the state structures admitted that they were openly protecting their own papers. Such a draft decision now seems to be in preparation. However, this as yet hidden patronage is causing justifiable resentment among the mass of other truly independent publications.

The overwhelming majority of papers that are not so loyal to the authorities are barely managing to make ends meet. However, they are regularly paying their debts to the publishing house as they fear for their fates. True, even by doing this, they cannot boast that they are being regularly published. Objective difficulties concerning paper supply, electricity, and many other things encountered by the single publishing house responsible for production and equipment affects, first and foremost, precisely independent publications. Some of them have been hit harder than others.

Criminal proceedings have been initiated against the "Zviadist" newspapers [IBERIA-SPEKTR, SAKARTVELOS SAMREKLO] and their publication has been halted.

DRONI employees are still being hauled up before the Procurator's Office for publishing an interview with Nodar Natadze, chairman of the Popular Front and one of the leaders of the opposition in parliament, whose remarks opposing Georgia's entry into the CIS were assessed as an incitement to violence.

The popular newspaper 7 DGHE, which takes a restrained but very critical line against the current authorities, is in very bad shape. A few months ago, a group of armed people, who were not pleased with certain articles that had been published, raked the editor in chief's office with gunfire and damaged a large amount of editorial equipment. Then, last week, the remaining computers and printers were stolen.

In general, when certain independent newspapers have to suffer in this way, it is understandable why government help to other—also "independent"—newspapers is viewed as blatant injustice.

Meanwhile, the resignation of Archil Gogeliya, chairman of the Television and Radio Broadcasting Corporation, has been received in Eduard Shevardnadze's office. Certain television employees with whom we spoke suppose that it was the result of incessant "pressure" applied on the chairman from "above." The leaders of opposition forces in Georgia have also pointed out that their access to radio and television has been made extremely difficult of late. However, Gogeliya's resignation has yet to be accepted.

Money Changers Stop Dealing in Georgian Coupons

NC1101220594 Yerevan SNARK in English 1550 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, January 11 (SNARK)—Today the private exchange offices stopped the operations of exchanging of Russian rubles for Georgian currency because coupons dropped down. The high-price goods disappeared from the shops.

At the last auction of Interbanking Exchange of National Bank of Georgia there was the rate—100 Georgian coupons for 1 Russian ruble. Comparing with the previous auction the rate is dropped down 20 points. Specialists connect the collapsing dropping down of coupons with the recent statement of Vakhtang Goguadze, the speaker of Georgian Parliament, about necessity of Georgia's entering to the ruble zone.

Estonia

Meri Explains Reasons for Government Reshuffle

LD1101135994 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0815 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Speech by President Lennart Meri to the Riigikogu—live]

[Excerpts] [Meri] [passage omitted] Instead of drawing objective conclusions from the changing balance of power in both the world and in Estonia, and expanding the governmental basis resolutely—if necessary at the cost of his own resignation—the prime minister has aimed at preserving his power and making a dangerous compromise.

The proposed government reshuffle will retain current governmental practices and the current decision-making mechanism, which works behind closed doors in a room next door rather than around the governmental table. The outcome is a more administrative government with a more administrative prime minister. Concentrating power instead of delegating it cannot be served up as a parliamentary practice, however attractively arranged. The reason why I consider it necessary to talk to you, esteemed people's deputies, with worry and openness, stems from an issue that a year or two ago was not yet topical. It is topical today and directly concerns Estonian national security. I say this as the top commander of Estonian state defense according to Section 16, Article 78 of the Constitution. [passage omitted]

Having said what I had to say and hoping that at critical moments the country's interests would come higher than party interests, I will now, before your very eyes, sign the resolution, which at the present moment in history must unite us, lift us above our differences of opinion, and assist the republican government in keeping the Estonian country's interests apart from party interests.

Meri Criticizes Laar; Speculation on Resignations

LD1101115394 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpts] We will continue on the same subject of the government reshuffle. We have asked correspondent Peeter Kaldre, who is currently in the studio, to comment on today's presidential speech and events at the Riigikogu.

[Kaldre] President Meri's speech consisted of two parts [words indistinct]. Firstly, he justified his negative attitude to the government reshuffle as proposed by Prime Minister Laar. Secondly, he explained the extraordinary circumstances affecting Estonia's independence under which he did agree to sign Prime Minister Laar's proposals, amounting to him agreeing to dismiss Toomas Sildmae as economics minister and appointing Toivo Jurgenson to this post, and to appoint Heiki Kranich as finance minister.

If one is to (?explain) matters straight away then the first half of Meri's speech was predominantly devoted to criticism of Laar and the defense of Toomas Sildmae. In Meri's opinion, Laar did not have sufficient instinct as a statesman to resign in the interests of the Fatherland. This would have been at the time when it came to light, after the local election results [in October], that the balance between political forces in Estonia had altered considerably. Laar opted for another path, the unsuccessful government reshuffle whose aim was to preserve his own—that is Laar's—power. The Fatherland's crisis is first and foremost the prime minister's own crisis, said Meri. Meri's belief is that Laar should have taken into account popular feelings and expanded the government coalition resolutely, even at the price of his own personal resignation.

Next, Meri dwelled on Estonia's achievements in the economy and finance sphere, as accepted at world level. If anything at all has been functioning effectively in Estonia, it is the economy, Meri stated. That is due to the fact that a hard core of home-grown industrial, trade, and financial circles have emerged in Estonia based on Estonia's own capital. Meri spoke about Toomas Sildmae's letter of yesterday in which Sildmae says that he sees no reason for his resignation. Sildamae is convinced, as before, that an open economy forms the foundation of Estonia's development as a state. The government must support precisely this, rather than the state system which is corrupt. Meri doubts whether Estonian industrial and trade circles will continue to feel secure after Sildmae's departure.

Meri highlighted the fact that the security of our economic policy has not at all been analyzed. Instead, only arms are being discussed. At the same time, the Russian capital's infiltration into Estonia, through both shadow individuals and firms is beyond control. Who does the Republic of Estonia belong to, Meri asked?

In the second half of his speech Meri explained the extraordinary circumstances that made him sign Laar's proposals for the government reshuffle. Meri reproached Laar for neglecting new essential developments in international life. The current NATO summit and the upcoming Russian-U.S. summit may bring about a decisive change in the balance of powers, that one way or another, will also affect Estonia. Instead of being extremely active in the foreign policy sphere, weeks have been spent on the government reshuffle and our whole intellectual potential has focused on contemplating our own navels. At present, the government should be in top gear for activity. The government reshuffle that Laar has carried out took place in an undesirable manner and at the least suitable time, said the president.

Meri concluded the following: He takes a negative attitude to the proposed governmental changes, but the present extraordinary moment and the country's interests demand that the president should agree. Under the very eyes of the peoples' deputies Meri signed the government reshuffle documents.

What is one to conclude from all this? The following aspects are obvious. Meri's speech was pointed against Prime Minister Laar. Several grave accusations were raised against Laar. Firstly, that Laar does not consider popular opinion and feelings, and thus he has become alienated from the people, as the people have from him. It is interesting that the Fatherland as a party, and the government coalition as a whole, were not included in Meri's criticism. I want to protect the Fatherland from the Fatherland itself, Meri noted. [passage omitted]

After such a speech from Lennart Meri it is hard to believe that there are any prospects for the Toompea [seat of Riigikogu] and Kadriorg [presidential residence] to cooperate, albeit that the president did not exactly say this in an interview to Estonian Radio. Only two options are left: Either Laar or Meri will resign. The latter seems unlikely indeed. In any case, Meri has left the public with the impression of a true father of the nation who, in the interests of Estonian security, is forced to take decisions that in the long term he considers to be without any prospects. [passage omitted]

President Ends 'Controversy' Over Cabinet Reshuffle

WS1201103194 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0753 GMT 12 Jan 94

[From 12 January RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, pp 1,3]

[Excerpt] Wednesday, January 12—President Lennart Meri ended the controversy over the cabinet reshuffle by finally appointing the four ministers.

The Riigikogu session voted again on some draft laws before the president's arrival—the new defence minister Indrek Kannik is no longer an MP, but he had nevertheless voted twice on Monday [10 January].

The president held a 14-minute speech, criticising the government coalition and specifically Prime Minister Mart Laar for the inopportune time for the replacement of the ministers. The government's secretive way of acting is alienating the people from the government, the president warned, stressing that he is attempting to protect the "Fatherland" against the results of its own acts. He regretted Laar's "lack of statesmanship" in not resigning and maintaining the existing secretive system of decisionmaking. Meri warned against an "infiltration of Russian state capital into Estonia" and rhetorically asked, "Who really owns the Republic of Estonia?" The president again stressed the efficiency of Toomas Sildmae in the Economy Ministry and expressed his doubts whether the change of ministers will increase the confidence of the national business circles. Referring to the NATO summit, Meri claimed that the reshuffle was conducted at the most unfavourable moment. However, he signed the document relieving the four ministers and appointing their successors.

The president declined from answering any questions of the MP's and left immediately.

Government Officials React to President's Speech

WS1201103294 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0753 GMT 12 Jan 94

[From 12 January RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, PAEVALEHT, HOMMIKULEHT, pp 2,3]

[Text] Wednesday, January 12—Prime Minister Mart Laar described the recent events as a crisis of power rather than of government, stressing that the coalition had remained firm. He added that the constitution is inadequately expressed and needs a number of additional laws to guarantee the actual balance of power.

Laar rejected the president's accusations of inopportune moment for the reshuffle. "I consider the change of ministers a significant factor guaranteeing Estonia's stability. Considering the hard times ahead, we should go on with a monolithic government which effectively cooperates with the parliament," he said.

The prime minister admitted that the presidential speech contained a number of correct critical points, but added that Meri had not expressed his criticism so directly at the previous meetings. Laar also stressed that the government had been paying "constant attention" to the infiltration of the Russian capital into Estonia.

"Fatherland" faction chairman Tiit Sinissaar described the accusations as surprising and questioned the arguments used by the president. Deputy faction chairman Kalle Jurgenson stressed that the "Fatherland" sees no reasons for the resignation of the prime minister.

"Fatherland" MP [member of parliament] Mart Nutt and Moderate Vello Saatpalu stressed that Estonia is a parliamentary state and the president exceeded his authority. Centrist Andra Veidemann described the situation and the presidential expression of no confidence to the prime minister as "interesting and unprecedented". Coalition Party MP Ulo Vooglaid expressed his surprise and delight at the president's frank and honest analysis of the critical problems.

Laar Denies Declaring 'War' on President Meri

LD1101182294 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpts] A government session took place today on Toompea. At the post-session news conference President Lennart Meri's speech was also under discussion. Mati Kirotar reports:

[Kirotar] The rivalry between Kadriorg [presidential residence] and Toompea [seat of government and parliament] seems to have ended for the time being. The subject of the presidential speech in the Riigikogu [parliament] today came up again at the news conference after the government session. Premier Mart Laar said that he had not declared any kind of war on the president. [passage omitted]

[Begin Laar recording] There were definitely many very accurate observations in Mr. President's speech, in particular those to do with rivalry between Andres and Pearu [reference to a literary classic]. I think that such rivalry has indeed damaged the Estonian state. I believe that our common aim is to avoid anything similar in the future. There were also some other aspects which I fully subscribe to, for example the influx of Russian capital into the Estonian economy, as Mr. President claimed. As far as Russian capital influx into Estonia is concerned, this is indeed under the government's close scrutiny. We have for example arrived at a position not to support the granting of banking licenses in Estonia to Russian banks, whether state or non-state. Or at least we would consider each individual application very thoroughly. I believe that the new economics minister will definitely... [changes thought], as Mr. Meri sees a problem in this area and pays serious attention to it the problem has arisen for Mr. Meri at the moment [as heard]. I am not fully certain that this is so and I would not like to accuse the outgoing economics minister of anything. [passage omitted]

I hope that these shocks of the past few days will not lead us further afield but will educate us instead to conduct our affairs better. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Officials Comment on Accepting 'Partnership'

WS1101203394 Tallinn BNS in English 1746 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 11, BNS - Estonia and Lithuania announced today they were ready to start cooperation with NATO under the "Partnership for Peace" plan.

Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar at a press conference today indicated Estonia was interested in the "Partnership for Peace" program. He said the country was going to prepare its formal position on the issue within the next few days and submit it to NATO.

He said the document which must bear the signatures of the president and the prime minister had been drawn up already.

"We wish to start negotiations with NATO on future cooperation on the first opportunity. We wish to fill the agreements to be signed with a concrete content," the Estonian prime minister said.

The issue of Estonia's membership in NATO was also discussed by the parliamentary foreign Affairs Commission today.

The commission ruled to draw up a draft resolution for the parliament, seeking the president to write a formal application for Estonia's membership in NATO. The draft resolution was approved by the parliament's 9-member Foreign Affairs Commission with 6 votes to 2 and one abstention. The adoption of the resolution now depends on a vote in the parliament.

"The idea that remained in the atmosphere at the discussion was that we were late with our application for NATO membership. Unlike in Latvia, there is even no institution in Estonia to have expressed support to Lithuania on the country's entering its application for NATO membership. The prevailing tone in the commission was that the process of becoming a member in NATO has to be set off to express our political attitude," said Tiit Made, member of the Foreign Affairs Commission.

He said the commission's attitude toward the "Partnership for Peace" plan was mainly positive. The commission is to take the issue for discussion again on Jan. 24, when the text of the partnership plan is to be more closely examined.

"It was found that early membership in NATO was not a realistic prospective and that 'Partnership for Peace' provides the possibility to move forward step-by-step. Also NATO has to maneuver politically while accepting new members, in view of Russia's attitude," Made said.

Made in his interview with BNS also criticized the inactivity of the Foreign Ministry in expressing interest toward NATO and supporting Lithuania's application.

Toivo Klaar, head of the political department at the Estonian Foreign Ministry, said Estonia's attitude toward the adoption of the "Partnership for Peace" program was positive and that the country was going to use every opportunity for cooperation with NATO and other countries involved in the partnership program.

Klaar said the partnership program provided an "excellent opportunity for integration with NATO, for working closely with the alliance and moving toward the final goal, a member's status in NATO," he said.

Commenting on the NATO leaders' decision not to grant security guarantees to the countries under the program, Klaar said that these things "are not yet the way we liked."

But he pointed out as important that consultations can be held in case the security of the NATO partners is threatened.

"The great potential that NATO has, the power that stands behind it, and the consultations—already this by itself can be a guarantee of peace," he said.

He said the Baltics as well as the Central European countries of the so-called Visegrad group—Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic—both had their best points for integration with NATO.

"The Visegrad countries have bigger armies and more experience. At the same time the fact that our armies are small and young allows us to build them up from the very beginning on patterns suitable for NATO," Klaar said.

He pointed out as an important step Estonia's decision to purchase of arms of the NATO standards from Israel, as well as the Baltics' decision to set up a common Baltic peacekeeping battalion, which can participate in peacekeeping operations together with NATO units in the future.

'Sense of Danger' Seen Behind Moves Toward NATO

WS1101173294 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1326 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] "The wish to join NATO of the former Warsaw Pact member states and states that have freed themselves from the Soviet Union, is primarily conditioned by a sense of danger," Clyde Kull, Estonian representative at the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and head of Estonian representation by the European Union, the Estonian Ambassador to Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg, told ETA.

Kull said that another reason to join NATO is that despite making some positive statements, Russia has not damaged [as received]to prove the friendliness and democracy of its foreign policy.

"Russian statements in connection with the Lithuanian wish to join NATO sound a bit nervous, and, in fact, strengthen the wish to join," Kull said. "It appears that Russia does not consider NATO as a friendly alliance. Although Russian military doctrine stresses that Russia has no enemies, including NATO, it still is against other states joining NATO," Kull said.

Kull said that it must be considered, how real and possible the widening of NATO is at the present moment. "The Lithuanian application will most probably have no results at the present moment, for NATO has not managed to determine its future and identity in the changing world," Kull said.

Vello Saatpalu, head of Riigikogu foreign committee, who returned from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly political and security council committee session in Brussels, said the Lithuanian application was a "good shake to the dispersing Western Europe", admitting, however, that Estonia and Latvia were not yet ready for a similar statement. "We have still several conflicts with our Eastern neighbor, but the step will have to be taken in the future," Saatpalu said.

Envoy: NATO Security Assurances Maximum Possible

WS1201104894 Tallinn BNS in English 0708 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Brussels, Jan 11, BNS—The NATO summit in Brussels gave the countries of Eastern Europe the maximum of security guarantees NATO could go for at the moment, said Clyde Kull, the Estonian ambassador in Brussels.

The statements by NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner and U.S. President Bill Clinton, both favorable of the security interests of Eastern Europe "were the maximum we could have," Kull told a BNS correspondent.

Woerner said NATO's message to the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe was one and the same: the countries won't be left on their own luck. "If we admit new members to NATO, this must help to stabilize Europe and not to divide it once again," he said.

NATO leaders in the summit offered the nations of Eastern Europe cooperation under the "Partnership for Peace" program. The program gives the region no binding security guarantees, but NATO under the scheme would accept the obligation to engage in security consultations with countries participating in the program, if the country feels its security threatened.

Kull said he regarded NATO members as ready to "go rather far" in case the security of countries involved in the program was threatened. But he added that the alliance was likely to abstain from military intervention, but use "strong political means of influence" instead.

The Estonian ambassador said preparations for the NATO summit had taken place under heavy pressure from the Eastern Europe. He said the pressure had contributed to entering some new clauses into the final document of the meeting, such as the words that the NATO "doors are open."

Kull was sure that NATO and the Western countries were interested in the Baltics as a possible sphere of interest.

"It is absolutely clear that a policy of dividing the spheres of interest is under way in Europe," Kull said. "Also Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev has said that Russia has geopolitical interests, which are determined by the borders of the former Soviet Union. If it is not Russia that has its influence there, someone else will fill the place," Kull quoted Kozyrev as saying.

But Kull also said the interest of the West in the Baltic region could be described as economic and social rather than military and political.

Laar Says Government Ready for Talks With NATO

LD1101172094 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Prime Minister Mart Laar stated at a news conference today that within the next couple of days the government will shape an opinion about planned cooperation with NATO. According to Laar, a statement from Estonia to NATO has been drawn up and should logically bear signatures of both the president and the prime minister. Later, once a decision is taken, Estonia will be ready immediately to start talks so as to (?fulfill) a Partnership for Peace agreement with a spcific content, Laar added. According to Laar, the statement under discussion would (?serve) as a starting point for the talks. Estonia wishes to be one of the first countries to open talks with NATO with quite a specific program, art Laar added.

Tallinn Replaces Russian Talks Delegation Leader

LD1101185694 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Juri Luik [newly appointed foreign minister], who has up until now been the leader of the Estonian-Russian talks delegation submitted today to the government the nomination of Vaino Reinart as the new Estonian-Russian talks delegation leader. Vaino Reinart has so far been working at the Foreign Ministry, on national security. The government has decided to endorse this proposal.

A few days ago the president awarded to Vaino Reinart the diplomatic rank of ambassador, which brings him to the same rank as Vasily Svirin, the Russian delegation leader. Vaino Reinart has been attending the talks all along.

Laar, Latvian Government Consult on Events in Riga

LD1101173994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] The Estonian government's press service announced that during the night of January 10, Estonian President Mart Laar held telephone discussions with members of the Latvian government following a provocation in Riga against Russian servicemen and diplomats, and the placing of Russian troops in Latvia in a state of increased combat readiness.

The Latvian side informed Laar that the situation was getting back to normal.

Both sides compared the events with the situation in Latvia in 1940 which led to those countries' occupation by the Soviet Union, and emphasized the importance of preserving peace and stability, and of efforts to ensure their countries' security.

An agreement was reached on maintaining permanent contacts between the Latvian and Estonian governments until the crisis is resolved.

Low-Educated Estonians Said To Favor Old Border

PM0701131594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Majority of Estonians in Favor of Review of Border with Russia"]

[Text] Tallinn—The majority of Estonians consider that the border should be restored to its prewar position.

Estonia should get back Ivangorod, the area around the Narva river, and Pechory. But the majority of Estonians hope that a solution will be found which is acceptable to both states. The newspaper POSTIMEES drew this conclusion on the basis of a sociological poll carried out by the "Emor" company. Specialists questioned 1,000 people. These were on the whole young Estonians (16-24 years of age) and elderly Estonians (65-74 years of age), who stated that it is necessary to reinstate the Tartu (Yuryev) Peace Agreement and the border between the countries which it established. According to the paper, those with a low level of education favor the prewar border. Estonians with higher education and Estonians living in the republic's northeast come out in favor of a compromise solution for the border problem.

Foreign Aid, Loan Agreement Figures Reported

WS1001211694 Tallinn BNS in English 1619 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 10, BNS - Estonia received about 1.1 billion kroons in foreign aid and signed 109 million U.S. dollars (about 1.5 billion kroons) worth of loan agreements with other countries, former Finance Minister Madis Uurike said in a press conference today.

Uurike said the country's government used 63 million dollars of total 109 million dollars received in loans. The rest was provided to the banking sector and regional governments, who have accepted the obligation to repay the loans.

The energy, transport, environment and banking sectors were the main areas of the economy to receive additional funding from the loans. Many of those applying for the loan money, however, were unable to get a share in the funds, as the total investment capacity fell about 23 billion kroons short of the amount sought by the loan applicants.

But the former finance minister also pointed out positive changes in the usage of the loan and foreign aid money. He said investments and cooperation projects have replaced fuel, medicines and cars purchases as the main destination of the loan money.

Latvia

Talks With Russia Proceed After Incident

LD1101132594 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Consultations between the heads of Latvian and Russian delegations on the withdrawal of the Russian Army from the territory of the Republic of Latvia began at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 1000. An hour long break was announced at 1100, and our correspondent Janis Podins used this opportunity and asked to the microphone a member of the Latvian delegation, a deputy to the Fifth Saeima, Ilga Grava.

[Begin recording] [Podins] Taking into account yesterday's incident, what was the first hour of the talks with the Russian delegation like?

[Grava] Taking into account all that has happened, it should be said that the first hour of the talks was very normal. We both gave our apologies and some analysis of what has happened. The Russian side already understands that thing very well. They repeated once again their assessment, understanding that that was a provocation and in no way blaming the Latvian Government, nor blaming the delegation, nor Latvia as a state, but stressing again that that was a provocation and just reminded us that such provocations complicate not only relations between Russia and Latvia—if we have no agreements at the moment which govern these relations—but we also have to understand that relations between Russia and Latvia also determine relations between Latvia and other states, and that such [sentence incomplete as heard].

Well, they assessed (?everything) in a very normal way and we have now their agreement [words indistinct] and we will continue our work.

[Podins] And what new is, nevertheless, in the stance of the Latvian delegation? And whether Russia accepts it?

[Grava] We have not spoken yet a single word about the agreement, timescale, nor about anything else. Mr. Virsis said—31 August. Russia said with such a bit of sarcasm that it has really had to wait until the middle of January to come to this conclusion, [words indistinct] also understood that we have to accept that. [passage omitted] [end recording]

New Russian Proposal on Skrunda

LD1101184194 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] At the Latvian-Russian talks on army withdrawal, representatives of the Russian delegation have submitted new proposals on the legal status of the Skrunda radar station as well as a proposed new five-year deadline for the withdrawal of the Skrunda radar. This was told today to reporters by Sergey Zotov, head of the Russian delegation.

The Latvian side is at the moment acquainting itself with the new Russian proposals. The Latvian delegation believes that the facility should be non-military. Russian representatives, however, oppose that.

Speaking about the resumption of the talks in general after yesterday's incident between the leadership of the Vidzeme district of Riga and two generals of the Russian army, Zotov explained that one of the aims of the person responsible for the provocation was to disrupt the talks and to hinder the effort to reach agreement between Latvia and Russia on troop withdrawal. With this, suspension of the talks would have been only in the interest of the person responsible for the provocation.

The talks between representatives of the Latvian and Russian delegations on troop withdrawal will continue tomorrow.

Civilian Role Hinted at for Skrunda

PM1201095394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By A. Yakovlev and V. Gorobets; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Yakovlev] Russian-Latvian talks, overshadowed by the illegal arrest of two Russian generals, began this morning and carried on late into the evening. The Latvian delegation agreed to Russia's proposed date for the withdrawal of troops—31 August this year. The only fundamental issue on which it has hitherto not been possible to agree is the Skrunda missile attack early-warning station. It is necessary to define the status of this strategic installation, needed to ensure Russia's national security, and establish the possibility of international supervision, something on which the Latvian side is insisting. The opinion is being aired that the station might operate as a civil installation. Military experts believe that the Skrunda radar does not represent an environmental danger nor does it pose a threat as a target on Latvian territory. Agreement is being hampered by the impossibility of putting up a similar structure on Russian territory in a short period and the internal situation in Latvia, which dictates that politicians should seek the immediate withdrawal of all troops and the elimination of Russian installations on its territory.

More on Russian Army Depot, Arrest of Generals

MK1101121094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Arrest of Generals"]

[Text] It has come to light from confidential sources that yesterday at 0730 one of the depots and the quarters and utilities unit of the Northeastern Group of Forces [NEGF] in a Riga suburb were captured by forces of the 13th country defense battalion. Major General Vodopyanov, aide to the commander for work with personnel; Major General Taylokov, first deputy commander of the NEGF; and Major General Yakushev, chief of the combat training directorate, arrived at 1030 at the site of the incident to investigate. They declared to the head of the city's administration who was present there that the actions by the Latvian servicemen were unlawful, and demanded that the captured installations be vacated. Negotiations were fruitless, however, and around 1400 Generals Vodopyanov and Taylokov were handcuffed, put into a minibus and taken away to an unknown destination. General Yakushev immediately reported the incident to the commander of the Northeastern

Group of Forces who reported the incident to the president of Latvia. The president stated that the actions of the country defense forces were unlawful and that measures would be taken for an immediate release of the Russian generals. POSTFACTUM has come to learn that Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev gave orders to put on combat alert units of the Pskov Airborne Division, and should the hostages not be released, to take adequate measures to free them. Normond Beltskis of Latvia's Foreign Ministry press service advised, as this NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA issue went to print, that an urgent conference to resolve the situation was under way at the office of republic President Guntis Ulmanis.

Arrest Delays Troop Pullout Talks

MK1101104094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 11 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed report based on news agency materials under the "Latvia" rubric: "Riga Authorities Deport Two Russian Generals. Latvian Officials Call the Incident 'a Provocation'"]

[Text] On 10 January, General Nikolay Taylakov, deputy commander-in-chief of the Russian Army's Northwestern Group of Forces, and General Anatoliy Vodopyanov were arrested and deported to Russia at the directive of Andrey Ruchs, chairman of Riga's suburb of Vidzem. The arrest followed the Latvian territorial defense troops' seizure of a military depot and another official building held by Russian troops. Meanwhile, local authorities said that the generals were arrested for fear that they might attempt to mount armed security guard details at the facilities that were to be handed over to Latvia.

Ilgonis Upmanis, chief of the Latvian Government's bureau on the withdrawal of Russian troops, told BALTFAX that both generals returned to Riga and that the republican prosecutor's office filed a criminal lawsuit regarding the incident. Mr. Ruchs, meanwhile, conceded that he had overstepped his powers. Martins Virsis, chief of the Latvian delegation in talks with Russia, has called the incident "a deliberate provocation," planned for a day when talks between Russia and Latvia were to resume in Riga. His Russian counterpart, Sergey Zotov, said that the beginning of the next round of the talks was out of the question "until light is shed on this incident."

Given the situation, Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev ordered that units of the Pskov Airborne Division be put on full alert.

Ministers Attend Briefing

LD1101171794 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1409 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] A news conference has been held at the Council of Ministers and our reporter Aivars Tiltins was there. He is in the Afternoon program studio.

[Tiltins] Yes. So it happened that, just one hour apart, news conferences on one and the same incident [detention of two Russian generals on 10 January] were held by both the Council of Ministers and the Saeima. But this only shows the seriousness of the incident.

Participants in the press conference at the Council of Ministers were Valdis Birkavs, Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, and Internal Affairs Minister Girts Kristovskis. All the speakers began with apologies, because the incident undoubtedly dented relations between Russia and Latvia.

Foreign ambassadors took part in the news conference and both Valdis Birkavs and Georgs Andrejevs stressed that the incident and the action by Andrejs Rucs and his sympathizers had nothing in common with the government's and the Saeima's policy, and that Russia and other foreign countries would understand that.

We have already spoken about the decisions which the Council of Ministers took at its session last night. So then, Andrejs Rucs was dismissed and the Prosecutor's Office started a criminal case. At present Rucs' location is unknown. He is being sought. At least Girts Kristovskis said so.

The main thing which is to be carried out now is to determine the accountability and duties of each structure. The structures in question are the home guards and the municipal police. The National Security Council is also working on just that.

Girts Kristovskis also noted that the Vidzeme municipal police will today hand over weapons to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Rucs, however, is not taking part in that procedure.

One of the most important issues in perceiving the seriousness of the situation is Russia's reaction at the time of the incident. It would be worth listening to what Georgs Andrejevs said.

[Begin Andrejevs recording] I will just explain what the president personally heard from both General Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, and President Yeltsin's office. Those two sources clearly said that an order had been given, first of all to Defense Minister Grachev to carry out any necessary [word indistinct] measures, that is President Yeltsin's order. Then, obviously, the army commander also gave an order to place in combat order several divisions, including air force and airborne divisions, stationed near Latvia. Such information was not received in Latvia in written form. But there are no grounds to doubt this information. And quite a few occasions are known from inter-state experience that it has not been even necessary to use such physical violence against officers of such high rank for some superpower to begin without prior (?warning) an attack against the aggressor [words indistinct] who was guilty of such violence. I would (?simply) like to tell you that it was much more dangerous for Latvia that General Mayorov practically gave Latvia half an hour to find out where the generals were, and threatened countermeasures here in Latvia. It seems to me that there is big enough here, the Russian army is stationed. [sentence as heard]

So then, if anything had happened, if anything (?even worse) had happened when transporting those generals, with an armed conflict beginning between units which would have tried to stop the transport and guards who had an order from Rucs, he himself affirmed that, to shoot at anyone who would have tried to (?defend) and stop the transport, in that case it would have been difficult to foresee the consequences, because if the Russian Army had moved out of its quarters it would understandably have also encountered resistance from the Latvian side [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Tiltins] In conclusion I would also like to stress the main opinion expressed at the news conference: That this incident does not correspond to the policy laid down and carried out by the government and the Saeima. Foreign ambassadors were invited after the news conference to a brief meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mayorov, Birkavs Comment

LD1101212094 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[By correspondent Inart Skujins from Riga, including recording of remarks by Colonel General L.S. Mayorov, commander of Northwestern Group of Forces, and V. Birkavs, prime minister of Latvia; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday Latvia and Russia were on the brink of a military conflict. Rucs, head of the Vidzeme district of Riga, undertook a provocative action. He decided to capture a few facilities where for the time being the Russian army is stationed. He ordered the deputy commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces and the deputy commander for personnel work, who had come to the talks, to be arrested and dispatched to the Latvian-Russian border in handcuffs.

[Mayorov] Gentlemen, I believe that this action pursued political aims, and the main aim which the Latvian nationalists were pursuing was to disrupt the talks between Russian and Latvia, talks which had been proceeding normally, and to disrupt the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvian territory.

I must report to you that after these events—and these events had been building up from the morning onwards, gradually—on the order of the defense minister, combined units and units of airborne troops, including the Pskov Airborne Division, combined units and units of the military transport aviation, the front aviation, and the navy and, of course, units of the Northwestern Group of Forces were brought into combat readiness for the liberation of our servicemen and captured facilities. We were prepared to liberate our people and our facilities by force.

I informed Latvia's President Mr. Ulmanis before midday. In reply he requested—well, first, he told me that he was taking measures to resolve this conflict, that the organizer himself of this action—well, evidently this is the outside organizer, behind him evidently there are other forces of nationalist persuasion—Mr. Rucs would be indicted, and the officers and the facilities would be freed. He requested that no strong-arm methods be undertaken. We acceded to this request.

[Birkavs, shown standing in office with Latvian coat of arms on wall] First of all, I express regret in connection with what happened, and on behalf of the government I apologize to those concerned. The absolutely impermissible conduct of head of the district council Mr. Rucs resulted in the Cabinet of Ministers immediately relieving him of his post. Criminal proceedings have been instituted. Now the police are looking for him in order to bring him to book. The official reply of the Foreign Ministry with apologies to Russia will be presented today.

Invasion Threat Viewed

MK1201092094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1

[Report by K. K.: "Latvia Has Just Barely Been Joined to the CIS"]

[Text] On Monday paramilitary formations subordinated to the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs undertook provocative actions against Russian military installations, the embassy, and certain representatives in Riga.

As we have learned from reliable sources, had the situation exacerbated, the airborne and military transport aviation forces which were put on alert could have accomplished the combined employment of paratroopers in Riga. In accordance with plans worked out in the last years of the USSR's existence (under which the 1991 military actions in the Baltic region were held), the troops arriving from Russia would have unblocked and taken our installations under guard. All of this would have been strongly reminiscent of the evacuation of the Soviet Embassy in Afghanistan.

The initiator of the military option was Minister Kozyrev, who asked General Grachev to take the requisite measures.

According to competent sources in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the provocation could be linked to the new round of bilateral negotiations on the fate of Russian military installations in Latvia as well as to President Clinton's European tour. If everything were quiet, then, according to Mr. Prikhodko, head of the Baltic Division at the Second European Department, one could "hope for a breakthrough." After apologies by the Latvian side the talks, scheduled for two to three days, went ahead, although later than planned. The Foreign Affairs Ministry is still expecting explanations on a higher level with a mandatory indication of the organizers and perpetrators of the provocation, the punishment meted out to them, and so forth. The incident was discussed at a night emergency session of the Latvian Government. A couple of minor officials were dismissed.

Prosecutor: Reasons 'Not Very Clear'

MK1201091694 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 94 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report under the "In Brief" rubric: "A Version of the 'Latvian' Incident"]

[Text] Jazep Antsan, deputy general prosecutor of Latvia, has told a number of Moscow correspondents over the telephone that reasons for the attempted seizure of the complex of buildings by the local authorities from the Russian Army are not very clear. According to the prosecutor, the building that was the site of illegal actions by Latvian executive committee guards was a cultural center comprising a costly hotel, swimming pool, and sports facilities. The greater part of this complex is rented out to representatives of local commercial organizations of Latvia.

Delegation Leaves for Visit to Azerbaijan

LD1101195994 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] An official Latvian Government delegation, headed by Ojars Kehris, associate prime minister and economics minister, left for the Azerbaijan capital Baku today. The delegation includes Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs.

The delegation plans to sign protocols on establishing diplomatic relations between Latvia and Azerbaijan, and on trade and economic cooperation between the two countries in 1994.

Denmark, Sweden To Help Implement Green Projects

WS1101112494 Tallinn BNS in English 1805 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 10, BNS—The Latvian Environmental Protection and Regional Development Ministry established successful contacts last year with Denmark and Sweden in waste processing and sewage treatment, spokesman Zigfrids Bruvers told BNS.

Denmark sponsored the Riga city waste processing scheme that also provides for sorting of non-industrial waste. Latvia used Danish funding to assess the quantity of toxic waste in the country, Bruvers said.

Sweden allotted 108 million kronor to build sewage processors in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. From this, 5 million kronor were extended to the Riga municipal water supply and sewerage enterprise.

Another part of the Swedish Government assignation, around 40 million kronor, is needed to reconstruct the Liepaja city sewerage. Currently, Liepaja is one of the main polluters of Latvian waters in the Baltic Sea.

Another 9-million-U.S.-dollar project targets introduction of efficient and environmentally friendly heating systems in Latvia's small towns. The plan is based on transforming regional heating systems on local raw materials, like wood or peat.

From the project's expenses, 1 million dollars are donated by the Danish Government, the rest is the Danish Government's loan to Latvia. The term of the credit is 10 years, Denmark wants no interest from the sum. The Latvian Government, however, still has to extend its guarantees to insure the credit.

In addition, the Latvian Valmiera district and the Danish Velje district environmentalists started to jointly monitor the river basins in the Valmiera vicinity, said Bruvers. The Velje authorities also presented Latvia with a sea monitoring ship.

Lithuania

More on Country's NATO Membership Application

PM1101135594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Jan 94 First Edition p 6

[Yuriy Stroganov report under the "Nearby Foreign Countries" rubric: "Lithuania Knocks on NATO's Door"]

[Text] Vilnius—The stance adopted by Lithuanian officials on the issue of joining NATO has, as we know, been defined. President Algirdas Brazauskas announced that he has sent a letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner which, referring to the 23 December 1993 resolution by the Lithuanian Seimas, officially requests that the Lithuanian Republic be admitted in NATO.

Obviously this decision has crystallized under pressure from opponents of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party and by Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the right-wing forces. Day after day he has harshly criticized the country's authorities for the vagueness of their stance in respect of joining NATO.

But they reacted to this with caution. Talk centered more on the need to agree positions with Latvia and Estonia, where Russian troops are still present, and on a well-balanced political process. Lithuanian Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas declared recently that the issue of the country's membership any political or military organization should be decided by the people via a referendum, and not by the president or the Seimas.

Obviously, the results of the elections to the Russian State Duma have forced amendments.

It was on the back of an anti-Kremlin feeling that V. Landsbergis once managed to gain significant political advantage in Lithuania. Now, against a background of the strengthening of those very same feelings, right-wing political parties and movements are again gaining strength. At the third congress of the "Union of the Fatherland" party, led by V. Landsbergis, it was stated outright that the main threat comes from Russia and the ruling party is prepared...to fall into its embrace economically at first, and then politically.

Actually, on many political issues the authorities and the opposition in Lithuania follow one and the same lead. If nothing else, proof of this is offered by the letter from the republic's Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, sent, evidently in support of the statement by A. Brazauskas, to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

P. Gylys expresses the thought that NATO is a guarantor of Lithuania's security. The minister's concern is roused in particular, in his words, by the large concentration of Russia's Army in Kaliningrad Oblast. Lithuania would like to draw the international community's attention to the need to demilitarize this region. P. Gylys is also concerned that, in the wake of Russia's parliamentary elections, its foreign policy may become "more nationalistic and aggressive toward the Baltic states...."

Certain forces in Lithuania do not conceal their geopolitical sympathies. A curious episode occurred not so long ago during a meeting in the small city of Skaudvile between its inhabitants and officials from the "Union of the Fatherland" and "Sajudis." It voiced in particular the idea of the threat to Lithuania's interests if its officers are trained in Ryazan. A proposal emerged: Surely it is better to send them to NATO countries or directly to the Pentagon. But then somebody asked: And what will happen if they are recruited by the CIA? "So be it," exclaimed the leader of the Skaudvile branch of "Sajudis."

Incidentally, on the subject of the CIA, the Lithuanian press has revealed a sensational discovery that a CIA residence operates semi-legally in Vilnius, and a specific address has even been named.

Emotion aside, Lithuania's political will has been expressed. Admittedly, it is doubtful whether NATO will give a positive response straight off, without considering the interests of Russia itself.

'Immediate Preparation' Ordered

WS1101203294 Tallinn BNS in English 1746 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Brussels, Jan 11, BNS - Lithuanian moved Tuesday towards accepting NATO's offer of a "Partnership for Peace," taking a lead among former Soviet states.

President Algirdas Brazauskas instructed his government to start "immediate preparation" to sign a partnership document with the Western alliance.

In a statement distributed by the Lithuanian embassy in Brussels, Brazauskas said partnership "paves the way to the full integration of Lithuania into the NATO political-military structures." [passage omitted]

Brazauskas said the Baltic republic, which borders Russia, would identify "facilities, resources and forces," that could be used in the partnership.

Presidential Advisor Comments

LD1201101694 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Interfax Baltic News Service reports that Justas Paleckis, the Lithuanian president's foreign policy adviser, told an INTERFAX correspondent that the decisions made by the NATO summit in Brussels on cooperation of this organization with Central and East European countries met the expectations of realistically thinking politicians.

According to him, following the approval in Brussels of the Partnership for Peace NATO program, the rapprochement of Lithuania with this organization would depend on the opening possibilities: political stability, the economic potential of Lithuania, the ability to organize and improve military structures according to European standards, and the ability to cooperate both with NATO and other Baltic states.

Justas Paleckis thinks that a strong incentive to start implementing the Partnership for Peace NATO program will be the visit to Brussels by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, due to take place on 27 January.

According to the president's adviser, the main objective of the visit to Brussels will be to convince NATO leadership that Lithuania's commitment to rapprochement with NATO is not directed against Russia or other neighboring states.

Brazauskas Interviewed

WS1101115494 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0814 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 411]

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 10, ELTA—Fragile Baltic democracies should not be ignored, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas warned Western countries in his interview to British satellite TV channel "Sky News" on Sunday [9 January].

Russia, of course, is large and influential state, he said. But the West should not forget other states of the region as well. Processes taking place there are important not only for themselves but for the whole world as well. Development of democracy in all the countries of the region should be accepted with equal responsibility but not concentrating upon Russia.

In the end of the report, the journalist made a conclusion that, despite reassuring words from Washington and

Brussels, Lithuania fears a new separating line on the map of Europe is being drawn and the newly independent Baltic states are again remaining in the wrong side.

Paper Interviews Ambassador

WS1101124794 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0814 GMT 11 Jan 94

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 411]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 10, ELTA—"We are not so naive not to understand that after applying to NATO the door of the alliance would not immediately open. But as we belong to the West and not to the East, we want to get closer as soon as possible", Lithuanian ambassador at NATO Adolfas Venckus told a Polish daily "Rzeczpospolita" on Monday [10 January].

Venckus said in the interview that the Baltic states were ready to give over one battalion to the European peacekeeping forces, were proposing centre of medical training, were ready to participate in NATO military exercises, paid a lot of attention to learning of foreign languages by senior military personnel.

"Our wish to join NATO is not directed against Russia. We would like to have the best possible relations with that country but some fears appeared after the elections in Russia and statements of Vladimir Zhirinovsky concerning the Baltic states", he said.

Asked how Lithuania would react if Poland was the first to join NATO, Venckus said that "Lithuania is not harmed by the success of others. But, if Poland offered the Baltic states to go to NATO together, we would be very happy".

Lithuania and Albania are the only states that have formally applied NATO for membership.

Details on Citizens' Rights To Carry Firearms

LD1101190894 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Starting 1 April Lithuanian citizens aged 25 years and older will be able to acquire and carry arms for self-defense. According to a law passed by the Seimas today, they will be allowed to have one not larger than nine millimeter caliber pistol and ammunition. The law states that the pistol must not be automatic or have a large magazine. Permits to acquire the weapons will be issued by the Internal Affairs Ministry and the order of acquiring, keeping, and carrying the weapon will be established by the government. According to the Seimas instruction, the government will have to do this by 1 March.

Permits to acquire, keep, and carry arms will not be issued to persons tried for premeditated crimes and imprudent crimes committed with the use of arms, ammunition, or explosives, and to those on bail. Persons who have been fined for illegal acquisition and keeping of narcotics, for encroachment on public order, and other intentional administrative offenses if [words indistinct] the weapon can be used for administrative offenses cannot have weapons. The law forbids licensing arms and ammunition to persons [indistinct word] abusing the use of alcohol and narcotics and to persons suffering from mental illnesses.

The law contains some other limitations, also. When it is published, we will know about them. Persons having illegally obtained firearms, ammunition, and explosives must hand them in to the police by 1 April. Those who do this voluntarily will not be fined and a compensation in cash will be paid to them.

Further on Ministry's Former Arms Deals

WS1001163094 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 29 Dec 93 No. 251 p 3

[Fourth article in a series by Virginijus Gaivenis: "Who Armed National Defense? (4)"]

[Excerpts] In the summer of 1992, the German military offered four ships to Lithuania's national defense for half price. Shortly thereafter, on 30 October, a commission of Lithuanian experts arrived in Peenemunde at the invitation of the German Defense Ministry to examine those ships and report back with their conclusions to Commander E. Nazelskis, first deputy national defense minister. The experts found those three missile ships, as well as one torpedo detector, well preserved and in a good technical state. Germany was ready to transfer spare parts and equipment for the ships to our state. True, the Germans warned our fellow countrymen that they would do this only after the vessels' partial demilitarization, that is, after removing all outwardly visible armaments. Lithuania had to cover these expenses from its own pocket by paying 30,000 German marks [DM] for each ship, or slightly less if they sent a group of eight or 10 people for assistance. However, to acquire all of those ships, as experts J. Alsauskas and V. Mockus indicated, the Lithuanian Government had to send a document to its German counterpart whereby the transfer of those ships would be gratis and our government officials would pledge to use them only for coastal defense and not sell or transfer them to a third party. The Germans proposed that we take delivery of all the ships by the end of 1992. Back on 19 November, [former] Defense Minister A. Butkevicius sent a letter to Lithuanian leaders stating that the Lithuanian Government must assign DM90,000 for dismantling the three missile ships. Sending a letter to German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe, former Prime Minister A. Abisala agreed with the terms of the transfer and asked the German Defense Ministry to act as a mediator in conducting the ships' demilitarization at a German shipyard. According to unconfirmed information received from officials, the government transferred DM90,000 to the National Defense Ministry [KAM]. However, neither last year, as the Germans had wished, nor as of this very day have the ships donated by the

German Defense Ministry reached the coast of Lithuania, while military specialists in neighboring Latvia took delivery of six ships donated by Germany.

Why did the leaders of Lithuania's national defense refuse the ships donated to them for half price? Why did they at the same time pay 417 million rubles in cash to V. Laurinavicius, president of the "Selma" association in Kaunas, for two ships received from the Russian Baltic Fleet? Some sources maintain that it was more important to the former KAM and government leaders to "launder" millions from the state's pocket to "Selma," because the Baltic Fleet command did not want the German ships to reach Lithuania. The interests of "Selma," headed by a three-time convicted person, and its supporters were more significant to the KAM leaders for some reason. [passage omitted]

When the ships were sailed from Kaliningrad to the wharf in Klaipeda, V. Mockus, a senior officer of the Naval Department at the Armed Forces Staff, noted in his official report to the chief of staff that the Baltic Fleet frigates bought through "Selma" had arrived without any spare parts. Nor were there any secret technical documentation, inventory, fuel, lubricants, facilities for emergency rescue, missiles on one frigate, and so on. According to the preliminary agreement with the Baltic Fleet command, all this was to be nowhere else but on the ships sold to the Lithuanian National Defense Ministry. In the opinion of Senior Officer V. Mockus, it is practically impossible to use the ships without all these facilities and armaments. The pumps had disappeared from the ships back in Liepaja, and the water removal equipment had been taken away by the Russians. As the specialists have noted, some vital valves and fire faucets are rusted, they do not turn and are hopelessly outdated. Hundreds of such flaws have been found on the purchased ships.

The KAM leadership of that time was repeatedly informed about all this disorder. They also knew what items had failed to reach Lithuania under the purchase agreement with the Russian Baltic Fleet.

After RESPUBLIKA had published the first facts about the former KAM deals with the Kaunas association "Selma," the ministry began an official investigation. As Minister L. Linkevicius has told journalists, it should help establish the guilty parties and assess their actions. The new minister may not know, however, that some direct offenders in this criminal story—former leaders of the ministry and its departments—are acting behind the minister's back. They are forging documents and intimidating those ministry employees who refuse to claim that RESPUBLIKA is wrong. Undoubtedly, they will continue to prove that Minister A. Butkevicius, his deputy E. Nazelskis, his adviser I. Stankovicius, and C. Jezerskas are linked with the bosses of the Kaunas Mafia only by "business" relations. Prime Minister A. Slezevicius blessed the trip of all these officials abroad, where they will study and undergo training. After RESPUBLIKA had asked the prime minister whether such an approval of their studies abroad did not represent a "bonus," the premier replied: "Studying is a poor bonus." Prosecutor General A. Paulauskas holds a different opinion about the departure of these officers. He claims that they themselves should be interested in establishing the truth and untangling these complicated relations, rather than escaping to the West at this crucial moment.

Yesterday afternoon, former Minister A. Butkevicius, who is back on leave from London, found my colleague R. Grineviciute and answered several questions. Mr. A. Butkevicius claimed that the Baltic Fleet leaders themselves had proposed "Selma" as a partner to them. The ex-minister maintained that he had not known anything about the former conviction of the firm's president, V. Laurinavicius, and had not been interested in his past. He said that the German ships had turned out to be not quite suitable because they did not have the necessary loading capacity, and so on.

As is becoming clear today, the association "Selma" was exempt from taxes. Such a decision was adopted by the government headed by A. Abisala, who comes from Kaunas. Although A. Paulauskas had protested about such a government move, the decision was revoked neither by B. Lubys nor A. Slezevicius.

Another thing is also surprising in this story. No one has actually unraveled it. Prosecutor General A. Paulauskas has agreed that a large group of investigators should work on this case, because the public must know the truth. However, as soon as a RESPUBLIKA reporter became curious about who had relieved "Selma" from taxes and whether the Prosecutor General's Office had issued a protest, R. Bimbiriene, deputy chief prosecutor of the Civilian Cases and General Authority Department, stated that she would not speak because she guarded state secrets carefully. It does not matter that the Prosecutor General himself did not see a big secret in the question of which of the former prime ministers had made illegal decisions. If it is convenient to them, officials may ignore the opinions and instructions of their chiefs. R. Bimbiriene has allegedly noticed that RESPUBLIKA is stepping up pressure on her. Well, this is how things are sometimes....

Former Minister Reacts

WS1201112194 Tallinn BNS in English 0708 GMT 12 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 11, BNS—The Lithuanian Ministry of Defense purchased all weapons in accordance with respective government resolutions, which provide for "specific mediators, prices, and terms of payment," former Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius said in a written statement Friday [7 January].

Recent publications about the Ministry of Defense in the RESPUBLIKA newspaper are "irresponsible, biassed and aimed at creating sensational news at any cost," the ex-minister said.

Butkevicius said he regrets that the timing of a series of articles in RESPUBLIKA "coincided with Lithuania's statement on its intention to approach West European defensive structures."

The former minister said Lithuania had to choose from two ways of behaving before it was internationally recognized—either to carry out a policy of doing nothing, or to develop national defense. "I and my colleagues chose the second way."

Ministry Reports Illegal Transit of Russians

WS1201095394 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 30 Dec 93 No. 252 p 3

[Report by Gytis Vaidila: "Transit Without Permit"]

[Text] As the National Defense Ministry has reported, at 2155 [1955 GMT] on 28 December, 101 Russian Fleet seamen, two warrant officers, and one third rank captain crossed the border check point in Turmantas [Lithuanian border crossing with Latvia] without a transit permit on a passenger train heading from Kaliningrad to St. Petersburg. This train stood for half an hour in Kybartai [Lithuanian border crossing with Kaliningrad Oblast]. According to the chief of the shift on duty there, border guards did not have enough time to check the entire train, and the Russian servicemen might have slipped across the border in this way.

Seimas Chairman's 17 Dec Speech to Polish Sejm

WS1101173094 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 21 Dec 93 No. 247 p 4

["Text" of speech by Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas before the Polish Sejm in Warsaw on 17 December 1993: "'Although There Might Be Obstacles in Our Way...'"]

[Text] Highly Esteemed Chairman of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is my great honor, as chairman of the Seimas [parliament] of the Republic of Lithuania, to greet the representatives elected by the Polish people and the Polish nation itself from this high podium.

I am even more excited because this is the first address by the leader of the parliament of independent Lithuania to the Polish Sejm—an European legislature with a 500-year tradition.

I am grateful to His Excellency Jozef Oleksy, chairman of the Polish Sejm, for his invitation to pay an official visit to the Republic of Poland.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Poles and Lithuanians are linked by a long and complicated history. For several centuries, our nations lived as one state, they shared common values and the same religion. They stood shoulder to shoulder while defending the freedom of their homeland from aggressors and oppressors. They fought together, both on the field of Grunwald and in the anti-czarist uprisings. We saw the same struggle in the activities of "Solidarity" and "Sajudis" which helped preserve the idea of our nations' freedom and allowed us to cast off the yoke of totalitarianism under favorable conditions. It is symbolic that the first anti-Soviet rally in 1987 was held at the monument to A. Mickiewicz [Polish 19th-century poet] in Vilnius.

There have also been difficult and even tragic moments in our common history. Certainly, every nation has its own historical memory. Today, however, we, politicians, must look to the future for our common sake and strengthen common issues without dramatizing those ones which divide us or which we assess differently. This is the only promising policy.

The Lithuanian people learned how to overcome such historical recollections when Pope John Paul II blessed their land this last fall. The pope blessed people of all ethnic groups residing in Lithuania during his pilgrimage. The Holy Father has brought great love to Lithuania, which he kept alive even when Lithuania was not yet free.

I experienced the bloody Sunday on 13 January 1991 and the August coup in Moscow which decided the fate of not only the Baltic states but, probably, of all Eastern Europe. During those hard days, we felt support from Polish leaders, the parliament, and the Polish people for which we are extremely grateful. It is to Warsaw that the head of Lithuania's potential government-in-exile went in January of 1991.

After the restoration of independence, Lithuania had to accomplish in a short time the same as what other European nations has built over decades. Our neighbors, the Poles, know this very well, because this process began in your country considerably earlier. Today, Lithuania already has a balanced and democratic system of government institutions. In the 1992 Seimas elections, the people also voted in a referendum on the Constitution and approved it. At the beginning of this year, we already had the president elected by the nation—Algirdas Brazauskas, who accomplished much in destroying the CPSU monster. We also have a functioning Constitutional Court.

All of this, as well as the European-type laws on citizenship and ethnic minorities, created conditions for Lithuania to become a member of the European Council this past spring. By the way, we felt the support of Polish parliamentarians in Strasbourg as well.

People of different nationalities have lived side by side in Lithuania for centuries. They have created and strengthened its statehood. We have not had and, I hope, will never have any hot ethnic conflicts. The loyalty of people of other nationalities to their state has been a condition for the development of our statehood and

Lithuania's territorial integrity rather than a trait of their cold tolerance or exited adoration.

The Polish community in Lithuania is among the largest non-Lithuanian minority. Currently, we have over 130 Polish secondary schools and 140 kindergartens. There are eight publications in the Polish language. Some of them, for example, KURIER WILENSKI, are financed from the state budget. Despite the current difficulties, folklore groups are operating. Shortly, the cultural identity of ethnic minorities will be secured in Lithuania.

We will continue to support citizens of all nationalities in Lithuania, and assist them, including the Polish community, in resolving their numerous problems. We hope that other states will adopt a similar position toward their ethnic minorities.

It is even more difficult to resolve the country's economic problems. We have received a difficult legacy. We are forced to look for ways of mollifying the negative effects of economic reform and restoring what was heedlessly destroyed in the name of reform. The first positive tendencies have become noticeable in Lithuania's economy today. Following the introduction of the litas, inflation has dropped by 4.5 times (in comparison with last year). People's real incomes have begun to grow gradually.

The key goal of economic reform is to successfully continue privatization, particularly of large enterprises, by attracting foreign investors. It is only in this way that we can revive our flagging production and increase exports. Another extremely important task is to overcome the crisis in agriculture.

At the same time, we understand perfectly well that these are common problems which weigh heavily on those post-communist countries pursuing the difficult course from totalitarianism and a centralized economy to democracy and a market economy—to a free market "with a human face," according to one of your politicians. Therefore, we would think that the mutual exchange of experience is particularly important. On this occasion, I would like to recall and support our President Algirdas Brazauskas' initiative to hold a meeting among the leaders of the post-communist states.

Highly Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen! The most serious recent concern of Lithuanian foreign policy was to achieve the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country. This has been realized this year, although with great difficulty! Conditions for the implementation of other aspirations have emerged. You know that Lithuania's strategic interest is to join the European Union, at least as an associate member in the beginning. We must also integrate with international security systems. By taking an active part in the CSCE process, Lithuania is thinking about membership in the West European Union and NATO. We realize that this is a long process, the stages of which are being discussed only now. On the other hand, is not the West too slow and careful in considering everything?

We seek good-neighborly relations and cooperation with bordering countries. We are moving over from declarations to definite action in expanding our relations with the sisters of the same fate—Latvia and Estonia. We have set up the Baltic Council and signed a trilateral free trade agreement. We have also signed and are drafting different agreements with Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. We hope that the results of the elections in Russia will not distort its democratic development. The decisions on Kaliningrad Oblast will also be of great importance in safeguarding regional security. We, as well as you, are particularly concerned with the demilitarization of this region, which, I think, is a problem for all of Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen! We devote special attention to our relations with neighboring Poland. A number of agreements have been signed between our countries. However, the most important current task is to conclude the drafting of the treaty and the declaration on friendly cooperation and good-neighborly relations. I would like to express the hope from this high podium that this will be accomplished without delay. This would assist in expanding economic cooperation between our countries. Poland ranks second among those countries which have joint ventures with Lithuania. However, the amount of mutual trade is not considerable. Therefore, the signing of a bilateral free trade agreement becomes particularly pressing.

Our parliaments could also show more initiative in developing relations between the two countries. Closer ties, more frequent meetings, and mutual studies of parliamentary experience could contribute to this. A constant dialogue is essential. However, it is this dialogue that we have lacked thus far. We must correct not the very best traditions that we have adopted. The current distribution of forces in both legislatures allows us to effectively resolve the common problems of the present and the future. Eventually, it is important to realize our good-neighborly relations as a fundamental mutual need both today and tomorrow rather than a short period of warming. It is only this interpretation of the current issue that will enable us to build firm and reliable bridges in interstate relations.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Arriving to Warsaw, I could not forget the fact that my father shed his blood somewhere near the Vistula in 1939 when fighting against Hitler's aggressors. In conclusion, I would like to wish closer cooperation to the Polish and the Lithuanian nations, which have experienced much suffering on their common path to a new Europe. As A. Mickiewicz wrote:

"Although there might be obstacles in our way,

We will attain our goal—brotherhood will prevail,

Because we have courage, labor, and unity

Written in our hearts."

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for your attention!

'Unsuitable' Sea Bed Deters Terminal With Latvia

WS1101211294 Tallinn BNS in English 1746 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 11, BNS - The Lithuanian oil export-import terminal in Butinge and the Latvian terminal for the import and export of light oil products in Liepaja will be two unrelated energy units, Lithuanian Energy Minister Algimantas Stasiukynas said Tuesday.

Commenting on the results of the Monday meeting with Latvian energy officials, Stasiukynas said the Latvian side expected to agree on the joint construction of a huge oil terminal in Liepaja, but all hopes failed when it became clear that the relief of the sea bottom near the Latvian port is unsuitable for the project.

The minister said the future terminal in Liepaja would be quite small and would handle around 3 million tons of oil products each year. But the Latvian terminal could greatly contribute to regulating oil prices in Latvia and Lithuania, Stasiukynas said.

Latvia intends to start building its terminal in spring and hopes to complete it by the end of the year. Separate talks will be held to discuss Lithuania's possible participation in the project. The earlier Lithuanian-Latvian protocol on oil terminal construction is void, the minister said.

The official confirmed that the main designer of the Lithuanian terminal should be known in late January.

Stasiukynas said Lithuania suggests Latvians to invest in the Butinge terminal and the step would mean that a joint project is carried out. International financial organizations previously pressured Lithuania to build a joint oil terminal, however the minister doubts whether Latvia would be willing to invest in Butinge.

Progress Made With Latvia on Maritime Border

LD1101122094 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 94

[Text] A step forward was made in the negotiations with Latvia on the state maritime border, Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Vladislovas Domarkas told the Baltic News Service correspondent after the meeting in Liepaja yesterday.

An agreement in principle has been reached with Latvia that the state maritime border will proceed as a continuation of the state land border while the boundary of the economic zone will run parallel to the sea shore.

According to Domarkas, such agreement is a result of bilateral compromise. The principle concepts of the agreement, however, will have to be endorsed by the parliaments of both countries.

A possibility to set up yet another special zone next to the border of the economic zone in which both parties could exploit the sea shelf was also discussed in Liepaja by the representatives from the Lithuanian and Latvian Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

Domarkas hopes that the treaty on the Lithuanian-Latvian sea border would be given final coordination by the Lithuanian and Latvian prime ministers on 19 January in Riga, where a tripartite meeting of the leaders of the three Baltic states will be held.

Deputy Views Attempts To Undermine LDDP Power

WS0701180094 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 18 Dec 93 No. 246 p 5

[Article by Neris Germanas, Seimas chancellor and member of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party: "The Fever of 'Taking' Power"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The right-wing opposition declares its adherence to the principles of democracy, while at the same time it tries to destroy the legally elected government by all means. It has one sole goal—to regain its lost power at any cost. However, this cannot be achieved in a democratic manner, at least not in the near future.

All sociological surveys to date show that, despite all proposed populist and socialist slogans, the rating of rightist parties is low.

Nevertheless, it is very difficult to wait for the election date set by the Constitution.... The only thing that remains then is to arouse emotions, inspire and often even organize different acts of dissatisfaction and strikes, and enhance social tension through all possible measures, often by objectively damaging the vital interests of the state and satisfying egoistical personal or group interests. All this is accomplished under the cover of the same well-known organizations, and recently even in the name of "the nation" and "the working people."

How familiar everything is!

Turning back to the past and analyzing different facts, one can say today that such well-planned and coordinated actions began immediately after 25 October 1992, when the Seimas [parliament] of the Republic of Lithuania assembled for its first session. It was already then, when the bitterness of the right wing over its defeat in the parliamentary elections had not yet subsided, that a course toward the removal of Lithuania's new and democratic power was chosen. If in the beginning the right wing had some illusion that the presidential elections might change the situation slightly, it became absolutely clear to its leaders after the ballot that their prestige among the population is hopelessly low. We can judge this from the fact that their leader V. Landsbergis refused to run for the Presidency, and they had to search for such a candidate [S. Lozoraitis] abroad. All this must have encouraged them to continue the policy of discrediting and "taking" power. It is paradoxical that radicals from the other extreme are talking similarly about the necessity of "taking" power.

Since the very beginning, the minds of local and foreign "strategists" have considered two possible ways of returning to power—armed and unarmed. Conditions have been created for both options, without dismissing either one. Recurrent rumors about possible coups were not only statements by irresponsible people, as sometimes they are presented. [passage omitted]

The withdrawal of a volunteers' group to the woods near Kaunas also had different goals aside from service and accommodation problems. This was not an attempt to rise or to raise an armed conflict. Its key goal was to test the reaction of the community—and not only in Lithuania—to the possibility of "taking" power by force of arms. [passage omitted]

Power seems to be the sweetest and most desired fruit for some people. It is no wonder that the first public talks about early elections began after this failed armed action. This means that another and historically legal way of "taking" power was chosen. The scenario is totally clear: To build up a feeling of dissatisfaction in the community, organize strikes and other actions, put forward and implement the idea of a referendum; in other words, to remove the current government and return to power. There is no talk about some serious program of action because it does not exist. The most important thing is to return to power.

This campaign began at meetings with constituents in different areas back in the summer. [passage omitted]

The congress of the Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives), held on 11-12 December, clearly mentioned the necessity of early elections.

It is not enough to put forward an idea. It is necessary to root it in "cultivated" soil.

What affects the human mood most today?

The economy! Therefore, to inspire the citizens' dissatisfaction, first of all, it is necessary to make them discontent with both the country's economic situation and their own financial condition.

Of course, this situation is really difficult today. However, it has not emerged over the past year alone. For example, the highest inflation in Lithuania was between 1991 and 1992. However, the initiators of new elections keep silent about this.

Right-wing forces can aggravate the current situation through their representatives in various government structures by "putting spokes" into government policies and fostering relevant social moods. Furthermore, it is quite easy to exaggerate different threats and inspire suspicion in today's politicized Lithuania in personal and political group interests.

We can clearly notice all of this in our current life. Seeking its own interests alone and discarding long-term state interests, the right-wing opposition is pursuing the tactics of economic and financial destabilization and government paralysis. I could mention the constant blocking of credits to Lithuania and the discarding of almost all proposed decisions in the Seimas as an example. However, loans from Western countries and international organizations link Lithuania firmly with those states and help it resolve definite economic problems. However, it looks like the right-wing opposition does not need this.

In the social sphere, the opposition is constantly trying to sustain tension by inspiring and, maybe, organizing strikes and supporting the demands of pensioners, disabled people, farmers, and practically all other protesters. [passage omitted]

Special attention is devoted to the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP]. Destroying LDDP unity, causing suspicion among its members, and advocating a split, a "hardline" policy, and "strong" personalities in the mass media in a peculiar manner, the right-wing opposition seeks to undermine the LDDP influence in the community, government structures, and the Seimas.

One could provide many more examples of such obvious and not so apparent activities. However, the presented examples may be sufficient to draw one conclusion: All of these activities have one key goal—to discredit the party which enjoys the majority in the Seimas and its government, and seek early elections by all possible means.

As the prime ministers of the three Baltic states noted unanimously yesterday, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have already survived the worst times. Foreign experts also confirm this. Thus, what is the aim of this destructive policy of negation? Certainly, not to serve Lithuania!

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